DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 180 889 SO 012 261

AUTHOR Massialas, Byron G.; Torney, Judith V.
TITLE Behavior Variables Related to Citizen Education: Colloquium Papers. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 11-12, 1978.
INSTITUTION Research for Better Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 78
GRANT OB-NIE-78-0207
NOTE 145p.
AVAILABLE FROM Research for Better Schools, Inc., 444 North Third Street, Philadelphia, PA 19123 ($9.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Affective Objectives; *Behavioral Science Research; Behavior Theories; Citizen Participation; *Citizenship; Cognitive Objectives; *Educational Objectives; Educational Theories; Elementary Secondary Education; Global Approach; *Literature Reviews; Political Science; Political Socialization; *Psychological Studies; Research Needs; Student Attitudes; Student Motivation

ABSTRACT

The two essays in this report were presented at a colloquium on behavior variables related to citizenship education. The first essay, "Political Socialization and Citizen Competencies," by Byron G. Massialas, reviews behavioral science research as related to citizenship education and identifies the most significant findings in the field. The document illustrates that the research, which is primarily on political socialization, does not match citizenship objectives, nor do citizenship programs take into account important studies in political socialization. The author stresses that research should focus on the individual and the community, qualitative as well as quantitative data, and the development of educational programs in which individuals participate directly in political decisions. The second essay, "The Definition of Citizen Capacities and Related Psychological Research," by Judith V. Torney, suggests a conceptual framework which makes explicit the global as well as the domestic orientation of citizenship education. A review of research on pre-adult political awareness, understanding, and participation, and a discussion of developmental stages, social learning theory, and the role of modeling and reinforcement in promoting altruistic, prosocial, and cooperative behavior are provided. The document concludes by outlining criteria for exploring psychological concepts in citizenship education. (Author/KC)

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BEHAVIOR VARIABLES RELATED TO CITIZEN EDUCATION: COLLOQUIUM PAPERS

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

MAY 11-12, 1978

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SP 012 261

Winter 1978

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PREFACE

The papers collected in this report were prepared for, and summarized at, a colloquium on behavior variables related to citizen education, particularly in the United States. The colloquium was sponsored by Research for Better Schools (RBS) as part of its Citizen Education effort. Citizen Education at RBS is funded by the National Institute of Education; its objectives and its affiliations are summarized in the front and back matter of the publication.

The colloquium focused on behavior variables related to the objectives which Research for Better Schools has defined for Citizen Education. These objectives are summarized in the following statement:

CITIZEN EDUCATION: A WORKING DEFINITION

Citizen Education at Research for Better Schools seeks to dispose and enable learners to be more effective participants in democratic society. To realize this overall objective, the Citizen Education component proposes the following definition for RBS's endeavors in this important educational area. The goal of Citizen Education is to prepare students for current and future responsibilities in their interpersonal, community, and political lives by fostering the acquisition of the following knowledge, skills, and dispositions leading to the realization of democratic principles:

Knowledge

- Knowledge of the dynamic institutions and systems that exert influence in our society--law, economics, international relations, politics, and technology.

- Knowledge of the historical and contemporary context of recurring social issues related to the above institutions.

- Knowledge of the major issues and problems forecast for the above areas and others that may emerge.

Skills

- Inquiry skills--which enable learners to select, organize, evaluate, and use information, with special, but not exclusive, reference to problem solving and decision making.

- Interpersonal skills--which enable learners to engage in communication, act cooperatively, exercise leadership, and take part in arbitration.

- Action skills--which enable learners to formulate problems, generate alternatives, set goals, plan strategies, consider consequences, and evaluate courses of action.

Dispositions

- Respect and caring for others.

- Commitment to equality of all persons.

- Commitment to rationality.

- Commitment to action and participation.

- Commitment to personal freedom limited only by the commitments above.

- Identification with positive primary groups and local, national, and world communities. (Research for Better Schools, 1979)

To examine the behavior variables implied by this viewpoint, two experts (Byron G. Massialas and Judith V. Torney) were commissioned to write papers on the topic. Their task was to study the stated RBS objectives, identify related concepts/variables from the behavioral sciences, and, where

possible, map relationships among these variables. It was hoped that such an analysis would lend clarity to a complex field and lead to recommendations for future investigations.

The two commissioned papers, a natural pair, make up the bulk of this publication.

Experts in educational research and the behavioral sciences (see list of participants) served as a colloquium review panel to critique the major papers. The reviewers' remarks appear in the colloquium transcript proper, as do the comments of a small number of invited observers.

The colloquium was held at the Sugar Loaf Conference Center, Philadelphia, Pa., May 11-12, 1978.

The papers, both individually and together, illuminate research areas of considerable strength along with other aspects where there are striking deficiencies and/or omissions in the literature. This across-the-board view assesses where behavioral research in citizen education is--and where it must go. By identifying and interrelating significant behavior variables of citizenship (as here defined), the papers make a valuable contribution to research, practice, and theory. For some, they will be a valid starting point; for others, an impetus for continued work.

Reference

Research for Better Schools, Inc. Citizen education: A working definition. Philadelphia, Pa.: Author, 1979.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CITIZEN COMPETENCIES: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Byron G. Massialas

Florida State University

Behavioral research in citizen education has been conducted largely by social scientists, mostly political scientists, as political socialization research. Citizenship objectives in the field have been developed primarily by educators and lay people. The studies do not match well the objectives of citizen education. As a result of this mismatch, important studies in political socialization have not been taken into account in citizen education programs in the schools, and, conversely, school problems have not provided the focus for research among social investigators. The author takes exception to the theoretical framework espoused by most researchers in the field. He contends that the undue emphasis on systems has colored our perception of what education does and what potential it has for individuals, their families, and communities. Based on this framework, only systems-relevant questions have been asked. Students, teachers, and other key school actors serving as change agents have received no attention. It has been accepted on faith that the school, regardless of the quality of its program, is only good to certify individuals for occupational placement in society. Our conservative theoretical framework must change to dynamic ones which focus on the individual and the community (mainly sociopsychological and psychoanalytic frameworks) and which use both qualitative and quantitative data-gathering techniques. In addition to work on the traditional target areas in the cognitive and affective domains, research studies need to concentrate on what is referred to as "participatory" approaches. A first order of priority should be to study the development and implementation of school or out-of-school programs which seek to enhance the chances for individuals to participate directly in political decisions affecting them.

The primary objectives of this paper are to selectively review the scientific behavioral literature related to

citizenship education; to identify the most significant findings and trends in the field; and, where possible, to establish the relation of these findings, and especially the variables to which they refer, to citizenship and citizen competencies.

From antiquity citizenship education has been a concept which concerned phlosophers, statesmen, political scientists, and educators, as well as interested citizens. Plato and Aristotle were among the first to point to the crucial role that education played in relation to the state. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, John Locke, and many contemporary philosophers--for example, John Dewey--have all stressed the importance of education in a democratic political order. Horace Mann emphasized the importance of citizenship training in schools, arguing that it should begin in early childhood so as to avert "the evils of anarchy and lawlessness" or "no government" (Cremin, 1957). According to Mann, the high purpose of training a child to become an American citizen is attained when "the law by which he is to be bound shall be intelligible to him" (Cremin, 1957, p. 57). The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders expressed its concern for citizenship education as follows:

> Education in a democratic society must equip the children of the nation to realize their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the racial ghetto,

> the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which would help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation. (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968, pp. 424-425)

Needless to say, over the years there has been little agreement among people and groups on the goals and content of citizenship education. For example, some wanted it to promote the goals of the state; some wanted it to promote the welfare of the individual. In countries with large cultural minorities, many considered citizenship education a means to induct the minorities into the mainstream culture. In the same vein, many other positions have been advanced and hotly debated. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the long history of citizenship education and the controversies surrounding it (a task addressed most recently by the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, 1977). Rather, the intent is to arrive at a definition of citizenship education that can guide the subsequent literature survey in the search for related behavioral factors.

Toward a Behavioral Definition of Citizenship or Citizen Competence

In formulating a definition whih provides the basis for developing measurable outcomes of planned or unplanned programs and experiences, one must be careful to avoid loaded and emotion-laden terms and concepts. In this field, emotion-based definitions abound.

The literature demonstrates that citizenship can be defined in terms of citizen outcomes or competencies (Massialas & Hurst, 1978; National Task Force on Citizenship Education, 1977; Newmann, Bertocci, & Landsness, Note 4; Remy, Note 5; Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975). Virtually all the reports cited here group citizen competencies under such categories as knowledge, skills, attitudes, and experiences. An effort by the writer to provide a comprehensive picture of measurable citizenship outcomes or behaviors resulted in the table of specifications which appears in Figure 1 (Massialas & Hurst, 1978). A brief definition of each major category follows. For more detailed definitions, especially of the skills and attitudes themselves, the reader is directed to the original source.

Cognitive skills are those which enable individuals to understand how the system of which they are a part operates. This is basically the process of generating and testing hypotheses. Problem-solving behaviors which are goal oriented are part of this domain. In the political/decision-making spheres, for example, forming testable hypotheses as to how the political system functions--the process of generating inputs of political demand and support, gatekeeping, conversion mechanisms, etc.--is an important (and measurable) citizen outcome.

Participatory skills enable individuals to take part

directly in decisions that affect them. For example, organizing a group by identifying group objectives and assigning tasks to each member of the group to carry out the objectives is an important measurable citizen competence.

The affective domain deals with attitude and value formation and includes three subcategories: the evaluative, the normative, and the attitudinal. The evaluative subcategory is in part an extension of the cognitive domain insofar as it deals with the formation and justification of value positions related to social issues. The normative subcategory deals with the application of ethical norms or standards to judgments and individual or group actions. The attitudinal subcategory deals with basic orientations and dispositions that individuals develop toward their environment. These orientations may develop along with the other skills and behaviors cited here or as a result of them.

As Figure 1 depicts, each of these categories and subcategories embraces other specified skills. For example, the cognitive category also includes making distinctions, demonstrating conceptual understanding, and identifying a problem. In the participatory category are such further skills as observing, supporting, and proposing. Finally, the affective domain includes, for instance, the behaviors of identifying an issue and taking a defensible position (evaluative); empathizing and being fair (normative); and being objective and showing interest (attitudinal).

Figure 1

Decision Making in the School: Substance and Process

The political domain	Behavioral (student)				
Substantive-procedural-experiential	Cognitive	Participatory	Affective		
			Evaluative	Normative	Attitudinal
Levels of Participation Individual Class School Out-of-school	Making distinctions Demonstrating conceptual understanding Identifying a problem Stating a problem Forming a hypothesis Exploring consequences Collecting relevant data Analyzing data Testing ideas Making a generalization Applying a generalization	Observing Supporting Proposing Mobilizing Organizing Cost-benefit analysis Bargaining/negotiating Rule-making Voting	Identifying an issue Taking a defensible position Grounding a position	Empathizing Being fair Promoting equality Applying justice	Being objective Showing interest Showing trust Being efficacious Showing sense of social integration Cross-cultural awareness

Note: From Social Studies in a New Era: The Elementary School as a Laboratory by B.G. Massialas and J.B. Hurst. Copyright © 1978 by Longman, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

Figure 1 is by no means an exhaustive or comprehensive list of citizen competencies. It would probably take a major effort (much like the taxonomic work of Benjamin Bloom) to classify all the behavioral objectives associated with citizenship education (cf. Farnen, Note 1). However, the framework presented here summarizes in a general way the competencies advanced by many of the individuals, groups, and national commissions working in the field of citizenship education. The skills and competencies thus provide the criteria behaviors against which to measure the effect of the environment, including processes and agencies, on the individual. Let us then turn to the research and examine what variables are connected with what behavioral outcomes.

Establishing a Framework or Typology for Reviewing the Research

We should caution the reader, at the outset, of a potential problem in reviewing the literature in this context. Most research in the field has been conducted by behavioral and social scientists, particularly political scientists, while citizenship competencies (and citizenship objectives) have been posited primarily by educators and lay groups. Since the orientations of these two groups are in many respects different, it is to be expected that research studies have dealt with objectives and behavioral outcomes that do not appear, as such, in the lists prepared by educational

agencies, national committees, etc., and vice versa. Where this is the case we shall try (without distorting the intent of the investigator) to place the study in the context of the behavioral definition of citizenship presented here.

Since the publication of Hyman's (1959) important book summarizing findings in the field, most of the research relevant to citizenship has been on political socialization. Political socialization is defined by Langton as:

> the process, mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behavior patterns. These agencies include such environmental categories as the family, peer group, school, adult organizations, and the mass media. (Langton, 1969, p. 5)

Easton and Dennis, who reviewed various definitions of the term offered by anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists, concluded that most of them viewed socialization in a functionalist perspective, i.e., "a process whereby one generation inculcates its patterns of behavior and attitudes in the next" (Easton & Dennis, 1969, p. 20).

Since the publication of Hyman's book there have been several reviews of research in political socialization. The most comprehensive ones were conducted by Niemi (1973), Sears (1969), Patrick (1967), and Massialas (1969a). While the reviewers used somewhat different categories to group their findings, there were several areas of common concern. For example, all considered the role of agencies and institutions

(e.g., family and school) on the political socialization of individuals. Virtually all considered the relative influence of mediating factors in the socialization process (e.g., age, sex, ethnicity, and social class). And most examined the content of individuals' knowledge of and attitudes toward the political environment. Presumably, any of the categories used by the above reviewers could also be used in this paper. It was decided, however, to use the categories suggested by Dennis (1973), primarily because his scheme encourages more elaborate variable analyses of political socialization patterns and enables us to discuss both theoretical and practical questions. Dennis's categories, which we will use with slight modification, are: system relevance, content, maturation, generations, cross-cultural variation, subcultural and group variation, the learning process, the agencies, the extent of political socialization, and specialized political socialization.

System Relevance of Political Socialization

The major question here is how political socialization relates to the performance of the political system. Although there is no, or very little, support of linkage, Easton and Dennis (1969) posited the hypothesis that political socialization generates "diffuse support" for the system. Diffuse support, in their analysis, refers to

> the strong bonds of loyalty to the objects of a system as ends in themselves that also serve to regulate conflict attendant on cleavage and help to keep it within bounds consistent with the persistence of a system. (Easton, 1965a, p. 273)

Through diffuse support, the system

> forms a reservoir of favorable attitudes or good will that helps members to accept or tolerate outputs to which they are opposed or the effect of which they see as damaging to their wants. (Easton, 1965a, p. 273)

In order to fully understand the theoretical significance of the concept of diffuse support, one needs to study Easton's concept of the political system. According to him, a political system is a set of human interactions "abstracted from the totality of social behavior, through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society" (Easton, 1965b, p. 57). The political system is thus presented as an input-output flow model. Political demands enter the threshold of the system, their flow being regulated by the authorities or the important decision makers (the gatekeepers); they leave the system in the form of policies, laws, regulations, or other binding decisions, formal or informal (known simply as political outputs).

In addition to the demands from the citizenry which relate to the policies or the goals of the system, as per Easton, there are inputs of support that enable a political system to maintain itself and to carry out its objectives. The payment of taxes and military service are examples of

material support for the system. Other examples of support include obedience to laws and government regulations; voting, discussing politics, and other participatory acts; and deference to national and government symbols. As mentioned before, this support is seen as being developed primarily through the process of political socialization (cf. Massialas, Note 2).

Challenges to the theoretical orientation above have recently appeared in the literature. For example, Massialas (Note 2) questioned the emphasis of the research on macro rather than micro theory. One of the results of the macro-theory type of research is that the individual figures only to the extent that he or she, as a member of a collectivity, relates to the functioning of the political system. Personal growth, self-actualization, opening of new opportunities, etc.--all qualities important to the individual qua individual--are usually not considered. Schwartz and Schwartz, like Massialas, strongly oppose the research and development direction of the political systems model (and its concept of "diffuse support") because it "conceptualized socialization as a one-way interaction between the agencies and a rather passive recipient" (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1975, p. 5). Within this context the socializees are never in a position to influence their environment; the focus is on system stability and continuity rather than conflict and change. The authors

summarized past efforts in the field and pointed to needed new directions:

> Research in political socialization has tended to focus on the "fit" of values, attitudes, and beliefs between socializing agencies--fairly narrowly defined--and those exposed to them and on the degree to which prevailing norms among adult populations are foreshadowed in childhood. The themes articulated here are not designed to search for such matching attitudinal patterns but rather to urge us to adopt a less static conceptualization of political socialization, one in which the sources of socialization stimuli, the recipient, and the processes that link them make up a series of dynamic interactions. (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1975, p. 7)

We have already made the point that although at the theoretical level (assuming that Easton's model is valid) there is a presumed relation between political learning during childhood and adolescence, on one hand, and system performance, on the other, at the empirical level there is no evidence to firmly establish this linkage. Dennis (1973) suggests that such linkage is established through studies which investigate life-cycle variations and voting behavior. The evidence to which he refers, however, is weak, based as it is on a series of inferences. As we shall see, the problem has been (in addition to the deficiencies of the systems framework) inadequate research tools, including instruments, samples used, and the virtual absence of longitudinal studies.

The Content of Political Socialization

This category refers generally to the "what" of political

socialization. What is it that an individual has learned or accomplished as a result of political socialization? The response to this question inescapably leads us to a discussion of the topic of behavioral definitions of citizenship and citizen competence, something we touched on in the beginning of this paper.

As stated, there is considerable agreement among researchers that the content of political socialization may be grouped under three main categories--cognitive, affective, and participatory skills and orientations. Dennis (1973), who reviewed major studies in the field up to 1968, was able to establish taxonomic similarities in the ways leading researchers grouped the content of political socialization, notwithstanding that different terms were used in the process. While the majority of the researchers concentrated their efforts on values, affect, and cognition, some referred to practices, roles, techniques and skills, personality, and motivation as content categories. You will recall that our taxonomy, or table of specifications, groups all of these practices under "participatory skills" or "behaviors."

Focal to the question of content is the object toward which the skill, attitude, or participatory act is directed. For example, does the object (or subject matter) of the attitude refer to the various levels of the political system

(which, as per Easton, is comprised of three levels--the authorities, the regime, and the political community)? For example, do Philadelphia residents trust important governmental functionaries in Washington? The trust (or lack of it) toward the government constitutes the content of the Philadelphian's political orientations.

Most research to date has chosen objects of the content of political socialization which focus on the political system, with its central functions, structures, processes, etc. For example, studies of children's images of political authority, political-party identification, or political efficacy generally have a systems-level focus (cf. Almond & Verba, 1963; and others subscribing to this theoretical persuasion).

Few studies have considered the individual and his/her immediate community as the primary object of political socialization. For example, how do individuals feel about themselves, about their ability to interact with other members of their family, class, school, and neighborhood? Such questions have not really been addressed in the research because, as per Schwartz and Schwartz, the emphasis has been on the system, not on the individual--the output of socialization, not the process (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1975).

Jennings and Niemi recognized this state of the research and emphasized the need to conduct studies "on both the

systemic level and individual level consequences of political learning" (Jennings & Niemi, 1974, p. 14). They further indicated that fruitful ways to look at the individual and the society may be provided by the concepts of "social competence" and "moral judgments" (cf. Kohlberg, 1969; Merelman, 1969. 1971).

The controversy over the proper objects of political socialization notwithstanding, what is the content of the orientations, attitudes, etc., that individuals hold?

It is not the purpose here to summarize findings in this respect; the interested reader can find the appropriate research summaries in the literature (Massialas, 1969a; Mehlinger & Patrick, Note 3; Patrick, 1967; Sears, 1969). It suffices to indicate that studies of the content of political attitudes, etc., range from those which have limited samples (e.g., Statt, 1972) to studies which have carefully defined national or cross-national probability samples (e.g., Almond & Verba, 1974; Hess & Torney, 1965; the International Evaluation of Achievement [IEA] studies; Torney, 1977; etc.).

Examples of conclusions from these studies include: "American children were more aware of the international system than the Canadians, while at the same time less inter- or supra-nationalist in their orientations" (Statt, 1972, p. 48); "most children have implicit trust in the wisdom and benevolence of government" (Hess & Torney, 1965, p. 63); "the

Americans and the British with greatest frequency take pride in their political systems, social legislation, and international prestige. Italians in the overwhelming majority take no pride in their political system" (Almond & Verba, 1974, p. 103); "in no country did students score above average on all four of the major Civic Education outcome measures: Knowledge of Civic Education, Support for Democratic Values, Support for the National Government, and Civic Interest/Participation" (Torney et al., 1975, p. 327).

The above statements refer to the content of political attitudes, belief, knowledge, etc. Their inclusion here provides an example of how researchers look at this topic. As we shall see later in more detail, the content varies according to the relative influence of socializing agents, learning processes, the sex and age of the individual learner, and the like. As a matter of fact, the content of political socialization is rarely presented without an effort to relate it to agencies, processes, or the general environmental influences. Exceptions to this pattern may be found in national polls such as those by Louis Harris and Associates and even surveys of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). They report <u>how</u> individuals feel toward their political and social environments at various intervals but do not explain <u>why</u> they feel that way.

Maturation

The crucial question here is: What is the critical age in the political socialization of the individual? Do political attitudes and knowledge developed during childhood persist in later life? The studies in general suggest that political learning of adults can be traced back to childnood. For example, Hess and Torney stated: "Although there are exceptions...political socialization is well advanced by the end of elementary school" (Hess & Torney, 1965, p. 220). Another reviewer concluded his critique of the research in the area by saying that "the assumption that early learning is an important factor in the developmental psychology of political attitudes does receive support" (Niemi, 1973, p. 136). Other related research confirms this general trend (Bloom, 1965).

As a general proposition, the importance of early socialization in relation to later periods in the life cycle of the individual usually holds. A recently published study, however, casts some doubts about the long-term effects of early political learning. With regard to changes taking place from the 12th grade of school on through the life span, Jennings and Niemi concluded:

> We observe sizeable alternations in political interest and activities, in the conceptualization of political interest and activities, in the conceptualization of political parties and attachment to them, in the differential salience of political systems, in the relative emphasis on various citizenship norms, and in overall political trust and objects of political trust. (Jennings & Niemi, 1974, p. 283)

The investigators attributed this change primarily to the exposure of the individual to the realities of the political world, causing a shift of roles from those performed by youth to those performed by adults (e.g., from protected juvenile to head of a family exercising legal rights and responsibilities).

The Bennington College studies by Newcomb further suggest the possibility that a basic shift in political orientations can take place during the college years (Newcomb, 1963; Newcomb, Koenig, Flack, & Warwick, 1967). In the powerfully liberal environment of Bennington College, students were socialized (or resocialized) into a liberal outlook which persisted in later life (Newcomb interviewed the students in the 1930s and again in the early 1960s). The clear implication is that a powerful environment is likely to bring about changes in socialization patterns. This idea is examined later with regard to the influence of agencies.

Generations

The key question under this rubric is: To what extent do young people depart from the values held by an older generation--for example, their parents? Does the so-called youth rebellion of the 1960s imply that there is deep-seated intergenerational conflict between parent and offspring?

Research is not plentiful in this area, but that which

is available suggests that the incidence of the so-called intergenerational gap has been grossly exaggerated (Bell & Kristol, 1969; Emerson, 1968; Hyman, 1972). Most of the literature points to general congruence of belief between generations rather than difference. Jennings and Niemi concluded their significant study with the following: "Children tend to develop in the direction of the preceding generation, as witnessed by the frequent aggregate similarity between their political profiles" (Jennings & Niemi, 1974, pp. 332-333). But the investigators hastened to indicate that there are also signs of discontinuities in their data: Due to changes in "one's life space, the experiencing of political events, and work-related learning" (p. 332), certain differences between generations are bound to occur. If the forces such as major political events do not significantly affect the younger generation, however, "the inertia of this early period sustains them through the turbulence and growth of adolescence and they go on as adults to develop into a fair resemblance of the older generation" (p. 333).

Dennis points out that generational differences are likely to be more marked in developing nations, since change rather than stability is the prevalent press of the environment (Dennis, 1973, p. 16). There are few studies on the subject to confirm or deny Dennis's assertion. Barakat, who conducted an exploratory study on generation gap in three

Arab societies, found it to be quite prevalent, especially when comparisons were made with counterparts in Western societies (Barakat, 1972).

The dearth of studies of intergenerational influences is in part due to the difficulty in controlling the effects of family or life-cycle experiences. Certainly the historic experiences of one generation are different from those of another. How does one control the differences in these "communities of experience" and their impact on the political socialization of different age groups? One suggestion is to conduct studies utilizing "cohort analysis." This technique:

> compares the responses at successive points in time of people who were born in the same year or adjacent years using surveys that repeat key questions at regular intervals....cohort analysis provides an approach to the problem of separating out the relative effects of maturation and generations in age relationships. (Dennis, 1973, p. 130)

A study by Inglehart on generational change in Western Europe was an initial attempt to separate intergenerational from maturational factors and may provide a basis for further work in the field (Inglehart, 1971).

Cross-Cultural Variation

This research area addresses itself to the similarities and differences across nations and across cultures. How is the process of socialization into the political culture in one country contrasted with that in another? How

do individuals reared in different cultures think about their political world? How do they behave?

There are few truly cross-national studies. Most have been conducted within the confines of one nation (the majority in the United States). The reasons for this dearth are obvious. There is the perennial difficulty of developing cross-nationally stable categories as well as the difficulty of sample selection and method of collecting data. However, some significant studies are briefly sampled below.

The Almond and Verba (1974) study of citizenship in five nations indicated that adult Americans have the highest scores on their sense of obligation to participate in governmental affairs and on their sense of civic competence. For example, 51% of the respondents in the United States (followed by 39% in the United Kingdom, 26% in Mexico, 22% in Germany, and 10% in Italy) said that the ordinary man [sic] should be active in his community. On sense of civic competence, or the perception of one's ability to influence the government (national and local), the United States sample provided the highest score (67%), followed by the United Kingdom, Germany, Mexico, and Italy, in that order. The investigators concluded that "the sense of local and national civic competence is widely distributed among the American and British populations" (Almond & Verba, 1974, p. 187). In Germany and Italy sense of competence in influencing the local

(as opposed to national) government was widely distributed; it was also related to participation and allegiance. For example, those higher on the subjective competence scale (those who believed they could participate in political decisions) were also high on exposure to political communications, participation in political discussion, and the belief that elections are necessary. The United States again emerged as the country having the most self-confident and active citizen. It was suggested that "the belief in one's competence is a key political attitude. The self-confident citizen appears to be the democratic citizen" (p. 188). This citizen has high expectations for participation; he is also a "more satisfied and loyal citizen" (p. 189).

Another study conducted in the United States, England, Germany, and Italy sought to discover the pattern of political socialization among preadults with regard to their general support for democracy (Dennis, Lindberg, McCrone, & Stiefbold, 1968). In all the countries studied there was, with age, an increasing willingness to endorse the notion that democracy is the best form of government. The percentage increases in democratic endorsement were as follows: United States, from 46% for the youngest to 74% for the oldest; Italy, from 57% to 77%; Germany, from 37% to 80%; Britain, from 26% to 45%. The British seemed to deviate somewhat from the common developmental socialization pattern. This

may be explained in part by the large number of "I don't know" responses, which suggests that perhaps democracy does not have the same salience in Britain as in the other three countries.

It was also found that youth in all four nations tended to show a relatively high sense of political efficacy--the idea that government is not random and remote but can be changed and influenced by people. The Italians, who, in the Almond and Verba (1974) study, did not score very high on similar measures, had relatively high scores on "the chance to express their opinions about the way the country is governed." On toleration of minority dissent (e.g., agreement or disagreement with the statement, "We should not allow people to make speeches against our kind of government"), the most likely place for the expression of such dissent was found to be Britain and the least likely place Germany, with the United States and Italy occupying intermediate positions.

In sum, American youth ranked high on choosing democratic options and low on choosing antidemocratic ones. British youth ranked high on tolerance, especially tolerance of anti-religious speakers and criticism of the régime. Italian youth ranked high on free expression of opinion and on one item regarding dissent. German youth "exhibit antidemocratic feeling in more areas than do the other youth, in sharpest contrast to the Americans, who show such feeling to the

lowest degree and in fewest areas" (Dennis et al., 1968, p. 93). Contrary to popular notions, the data generally did not indicate an alienated youth. However, these findings should be viewed with caution because the American and English samples were small and not representative on a nationwide basis.

The IEA study of civic education in 10 countries, to which reference was made previously, is the most recent study of considerable magnitude (Torney et al., 1975). The data were collected from 30,000 youth at the ages of 10, 14, and 17-20 (preuniversity). Respondents were drawn from samples in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States. The sampling plan was based on a two-stage stratified probability sampling. Summarizing the significant findings of the study, the senior author reported:

> There were only a few between-country differences in perceptions of the United Nations....There was somewhat more between-country variation in students' knowledge of international institutions and process, in their interest in discussing foreign politics, and in their attitudes toward war. In countries like the Netherlands, where students have a great deal of international contact, adolescents are more internationally minded than in countries like the United States with substantially less foreign contact. (Torney, 1977, p. 3)

One of the few studies which examined socialization patterns in non-Western developing countries was conducted by Koff, Von Der Muhll, and Prewitt. Both primary and secondary

school students were surveyed in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Some of the conclusions were:

> Kenyan students tend to show greater trust in their fellow man than do the Tanzanian or Ugandan students. Generally, however, the cross-national similarities are sufficiently constant as to raise questions about the significance of the nation-state (in East Africa) as a differentiating variable. (Koff, Von der Muhll, & Prewitt, 1973, p. 250)

The above research raises two interesting points. One might be called the internationalization of political socialization. In cross-national studies we consistently find that the similarities in pattern of socialization are greater than the differences among youth growing up in different countries. The second point, related to the first, is the strong indication that the nation-state concept might no longer explain attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. Larger geopolitical entities or cultural communities might be more appropriate categories for grouping youth socialization patterns. This is supported in the case of both East Africa and Western Europe (Inglehart, 1967; Koff et al., 1973).

Subcultural and Group Variation

Here the major interest is the importance of mediating factors (e.g., ethnicity, sex, social class, intelligence, region, religion, etc.) in political socialization. For example, are boys' attitudes toward the political environment different from girls'? Do children growing up in different

sections of the United States have a different sense of political efficacy?

The research literature dealing with such questions has recently been increasing. This paper touches on selected studies and extracts some of the most crucial observations.

In a study of children in grades 4 through 8 in New Haven, Connecticut, sex differences were reported on specifically political responses (Greenstein, 1965). These responses were concerned with information about the incumbent local mayor, state governor, and U.S. President--their names and their duties--as well as duties of legislative bodies. Fourth-grade boys were significantly better informed about politics than were girls. To the question, "If you could change the world in any way you wanted, what change would you make?" boys' responses were more political than girls'. Girls more often called for nonpolitical change, such as "Get rid of all the criminals and bad people." In general, girls were less interested in and had less information about political matters. Also, several studies have reported that such sex differences in political interest take place prior to differences in cognitive knowledge about the political world. The author suggested that while early childhood experiences and personality traits may account for the sex differences, children usually turn to the father rather than to the mother for political advice--hence,

raising the possibility of developing and perpetuating the idea from generation to generation that "politics is the man's business."

Hypotheses about male dominance in political life were confirmed by other investigators. For example, sex differences begin early in life, and they are constant across grades. Boys acquire their political attitudes more rapidly than do girls, and they show more interest in political affairs. Girls view government as a personal figure(s), whereas boys tend to identify it as an institution. Girls have more faith in the fairness of the laws and view the legal authorities as more responsive to citizens' demands than do boys. There were no sex differences on the question of loyalty, attachment, and support of the régime and the political system. Nor were there differences between boys and girls on knowledge of the process and norms of the political system. However, political parties appeared to be more salient for boys, who also reported more political activity (in grades 3 through 5) than did girls. It was concluded that:

> The differences between males and females are consistent with other reported sex differences. Girls tend to be more oriented toward persons, more expressive and trustful in their attitudes toward the operation of the system, its representatives and institutions. Boys tend to be more task-oriented and are more willing to accept and see benefit in conflict and disagreement. (Hess & Torney, 1965, p. 381)

The five-country study by Almond and Verba confirmed some of the claimed sex differences on such indices as obligation to participate in community affairs and sense of civic competence. "Males in all countries are more likely to say they can influence the local government" (Almond & Verba, 1974, p. 212). The male-female differences, however, are less apparent in the United States than in the other countries. For example, in the United States 80% of the male and 74% of the female respondents indicated that they can do something about an unjust law. In Mexico 63% of the male but only 46% of the female respondents answered in the same manner.

Possibly certain sex inequalities in political life, which are obvious in the United States and in other countries, could be removed if educators were to amend the all-too-common perception that "politics is a man's job" to something like "politics is the job of the activist." Thus, early in life children would be exposed to ideas that stress participation rather than to ideas that implicitly assume the inferiority of women.

Although some items in the questionnaire used by Greenstein (1965) in the New Haven study failed to reveal differences in response between upper and lower socioeconomic groups of children, there was class differentiation on capacity and motivation for political participation. On issues that would distinguish among political parties, 32%

of the upper class seventh-grade children, as opposed to only 5% of the corresponding children in the lower social class, made references to such issues. Both groups showed a tendency to identify with a political party, but the upper class group had more documented information about their party choice. Regarding information about formal governmental institutions, on the whole there were no significant differences relative to socioeconomic status. The author attributed this lack of difference to classroom teaching which "tends to equalize the information about formal aspects of government among upper- and lower-status children" (Greenstein, 1965, p. 85). Also, on questions about personal willingness to participate in politics and the importance of politics, there were no differences between the groups.

On the other hand, the data generally reinforced the belief that upper class children are more politicized than are lower class children. Lower class children showed more deference toward political leaders; they were reluctant to name politicians as negative models. Regarding the source of political learning, references to parents were dominant, especially in the lower grades, but the older upper class children volunteered the statement that they would want to make their <u>own</u> choices. The lower class children did not volunteer this alternative, but they referred to the schoolteacher as a source of information. "The teacher is probably the

one emissary of middle-class sub-culture with whom many lower status children are acquainted" (Greenstein, 1965, p. 106).

Some of Greenstein's findings above are confirmed and expanded by Hess and Torney (1965). When intelligence was controlled, there were no differences among high-, middle-, and low-status children on their loyalty to the nation. However, children from working-class backgrounds showed a higher regard for the policeman and for the U.S. President than did those from middle-class backgrounds. Higher class children reported more frequent participation in political discussion and more concern for national issues than did lower class children. The most striking difference was that lower-class children believed themselves to be less politically efficacious than higher status children; i.e., the lower class children had a rather limited view of themselves and their ability to influence governmental policy. These children tended to accept authority figures as trustworthy and benign, and they had little motivation to question the government and its policies. While the school appears to be effective in providing information about the political structure, it does not provide opportunities to children to be socialized in active participation. Children of low socioeconomic origin, who largely depend on their teachers and the curriculum to acquire the basic concepts of government and political behavior, are at a great disadvantage because schools are neither

equipped nor inclined to systematically examine relevant political concepts and skills.

The most significant research on the relationship between intelligence and political socialization was reported by Hess and Torney (1965). On the basis of the data, they suggested that, in general, the active and initiatory aspects of political participation are related to IQ and, as we have seen, to a lesser degree to social class. Intelligence helps accelerate the process of political socialization. Although loyalty and devotion to the nation are found in all children, the higher the child's IQ, the higher the capacity to conceptualize the institution of government in abstract terms. The more intelligent children tend to view the political system and the laws of the government in less absolute terms, and they are more reserved in assessing governmental competence and intentions. Also, higher IQ children have a more realistic picture of the political system and how it operates, are more willing to accept change in the system, and are more interested in governmental matters than are lower IQ children. In sum, the more intelligent child is more politically efficacious and exhibits more interest in political involvement.

Studies of the political socialization of ethnic and racial minorities have not been plentiful. There have been some comparative studies of blacks and whites and also of some ethnic minorities, especially Mexican-Americans, but no

major national or international studies have adopted this focus (Messick, 1965; Messick, 1970; NAEP, 1978). The studies generally found that cultural minorities, especially blacks, do not score as well as their white counterparts on most indices of political socialization, e.g., political knowledge, sense of political efficacy, and civic tolerance. Blacks generally have less faith in the government and its agencies than do whites. On this item, as one observer put it, there is a "clustering of disaffection for government and political officials among black lower class children (ghetto residents in our sample), primarily males who have accurate perceptions of the nature of race relations" (Greenberg, 1970, p. 267).

Abramson (n.d.), who carefully studied various comparative works dealing with political effectiveness and trust among children, suggested that the tendency for blacks to have lower overall scores than do whites was largely due to social deprivation and to the political reality. He rejected the intelligence factor and political education as, respectively, wholly and partially inadequate to explain differences in the political socialization of the two races.

There have been some studies which bear on regionalism as it relates to political socialization; those which have concentrated on this factor were conducted by NAEP. A recent conclusion of these studies was:

> Typically, the Northeastern and Central regions performed above the nation; Western performance was about at the national level, and results for the Southwest were below the nation. (NAEP, 1978, p. 50)

Certainly, more studies of the effects of regionalism are needed, as well as studies of the influence of religion and language, in examining the political socialization of children and youth.

The Learning Process

How do individuals learn about their political environment? How do they come to view themselves as active or passive citizens? Do nonpolitical settings generate opportunities for learning in the political realm? These are some of the questions typical of this area.

It should be noted at the outset that most of the relevant work has been done primarily by psychologists, not political scientists. Therefore, the political-learning processes studied are mostly based on psychological theories of learning, motivation, and the like.

Hess and Torney (1965), for example, identified four models of socialization upon which most political learning among individuals can be explained: (a) the accumulation model, which explains political learning as incremental; i.e., there are unit-by-unit discrete acquisitions of knowledge, attitudes, etc.; the model assumes no previous

knowledge by the learner; (b) the interpersonal transfer model, which assumes that individuals have prior experience and that they transfer this experience to new ideas and objects; i.e., individuals relate the unfamiliar to things that are known to them; (c) the identification model, which assumes that individuals learn by modeling or imitating another person's attitudes or behaviors; and (d) the cognitive-developmental model, which assumes that political socialization corresponds to stages of cognitive growth (as suggested by Piaget, Kohlberg, and others). Hess and Torney interpreted their findings in the context of these models. For instance, children's attitudes toward authority may be established in the family context (their views toward the power of the father) and then transferred to other contexts (their views toward the authority of the U.S. President). Similarly, the identification model may explain party affiliation; i.e., children generally imitate or model the party preferences of their parents.

There are others, currently writing on the subject, who emphasize the importance of learning theories to an understanding of some aspects of the process of political socialization. Rohter, for example, demonstrates how social learning theory can help to interpret recent political socialization findings. This type of theory is capable of explaining "the functional relationships between the antecedent

conditions to which an individual has been exposed and his subsequent political behavior" (Rohter, 1975, p. 156).

Rosenau (1975) also sought to apply psychological theory of learning to political learning. After carefully reviewing the literature on the subject, she concluded that Piaget's theory of learning is significant in our comprehension of political learning. She stated: "Political learning occurs in the course of the child's spontaneous activities and interactions with other children, with adults and with the adult world, and it is in this context that the process and content of political learning must be understood" (Rosenau, 1975, p. 184). Rosenau, however, hastens to say that Piaget's theory deals with intellectual development and thus provides us only a partial explanation of political socialization processes. The theory does not attend to "the development of affective, motivational, or behavioral phenomena" (p. 184), and thus it "is incomplete as a basis for a theory of political learning" (p. 184).

Merelman (1969) also studied the investigations of patterns of political learning among children. He found that the major factors which contribute to the ideological development among children are "those relevant to identification and child-rearing practices and those involving the many and complex components of morality and cognition" (Merelman, 1969, p. 760). As with Rosenau, Merelman looks primarily at

the work of psychologists such as Piaget to explain the political-learning growth patterns in children.

Another substantive focus in the past 2 decades has been to examine the various socialization agents in order to determine their relative impact on the individual's political knowledge and attitudes. Of the many socialization agents examined, family and school have received special attention. However, as with the early childhood socialization studies, the results have largely been inconclusive.

With regard to family, impact studies have generally focused on generational transfer of politically relevant knowledge and attitudes from parent to offspring. The general tendency in all the countries of the world where research has been conducted has been to find congruence of belief and values from one generation to the next. This congruence, however, varies, depending on such factors as whether mother and father agree on political issues and the relative influence of the father versus the mother. Of all the outcomes, party identification seems to be the one area of relatively high correlations between child and parent. Other important factors are the type of family, parents' level of education, and the opportunities for children to participate in family decisions. For example, a study of secondary school students on the island of Jamaica indicated that those who came from maternal families were more

authoritarian, less interested in political life, and less politically efficacious than were those from nuclear families (Langton, 1969). Almond and Verba (1974), in their five-nation study, found a relationship between participation in family affairs and a feeling of political competence.

With regard to the influences of formal education and the school, the results are somewhat more inconclusive than those for the family. For example, the Hess and Torney study and the Almond and Verba study found that the school and formal education make a difference in political socialization. The first study concluded: "The public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States" (Hess & Torney, 1965, p. 200). Almond and Verba (1974) found a relationship between manifest teaching about government and subjective political competence. In the United States 72% of those who remembered being taught about government scored highest on the subjective competence scale. In Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico the corresponding percentages were 73, 52, 45, and 44, respectively.

These findings and conclusions have been challenged consistently by most investigators who have conducted studies or reviewed research since the early 1960s. For example, with regard to the overall impact of the school, Niemi concluded:

> The effects of the school are highly variable--depending at least on the quality of the teacher, the class

> material, the social and political composition of the school and classroom, particular circumstances of time and place, and even interactive efforts such as the correspondence between what is taught in the classroom and what is informally taught outside of school. (Niemi, 1973, p. 131)

Massialas, who examined 14 studies of political socialization in a number of countries, concluded (in contradiction to Almond and Verba's, 1974, earlier findings) that "the impact of the conventional civics curriculum on any of the political socialization indices (e.g., political efficacy, expectations for political participation, even political knowledge) is negligible" (Massialas, 1975, p. 171; see also Massialas, 1972). This is attributed primarily to the content of curriculum materials, which does not give a realistic picture of society and the political process; the absence of political-participation opportunities in the school; and the attitudes of teachers, who generally stress nonreflective notions of allegiance and responsibility to the government. In almost no country does the school create the conditions for students to learn the political skills that are needed to participate effectively in political life. The potential of the school in this area is vast, but few efforts have been made to capitalize on it.

Other agents of socialization (in addition to family and school) examined briefly in the literature include peers, media, and events. With regard to informal peer groups, the

research in general suggests that they exert influence during and after adolescence. The studies by Bronfenbrenner (1970) in the Soviet Union and Bettelheim (1969) in Israel's kibbutzim, for example, revealed that the peer system is important in teaching and in regulating youth's behavior (notwithstanding the fact that in those countries adults play a much more important role in providing guidance and leadership than do adults in the United States). The mass media, although more influential in modern societies (particularly television and movies), "serve to reinforce existing orientations rather than to alter old ones or create new ones" (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, p. 198). This is primarily due to the nature of the communication messages and the predispositions of the receiver. Recently there has been some attention given to the political socialization influence of music, literature, and drama as elements of popular culture. One pilot study found that teenagers' involvement in popular music related to their political attitudes (Schwartz & Manella, 1975).

Major events to which individuals are exposed or in which they participate play a role in socialization (or resocialization). For example, the major events surrounding the Vietnam War have had lasting effects on the generation of Americans who grew up during the period. A great deal of the political activism of university students in many countries may be attributed to the saliency of events such as the Vietnam

War. Much has been written about the effects of these events (e.g., alienation, cynicism, and withdrawal from or rejection of all political authority), but that literature is too voluminous to review here.

Recent research indicates that the influence of major or overwhelming events was not confined to college students. For example, a 1971 study of American children between 7 and 15 years of age established new (high) levels of cynicism among children with regard to the U.S. President as a symbol of political authority. Unlike earlier studies, which found that the President was regarded as the "benevolent leader," children of the 1970s considered the President as suspect (Tolley, 1973). The study also confirmed the notion that young children "learn important values before they fully understand the facts" (Tolley, 1973, p. 77). Direct participation in an event also has lasting effects on political attitudes. It was noted that Vietnam veterans experienced political alienation as a result of direct involvement in the war (Pollock, White, & Gold, 1975). This finding led the investigators to argue for more research on the results of actual political involvement and experience.

Finally, there are other agencies whose role or influence is still not researched adequately--for example, the influence of media and communication systems. One recent study concluded "that mass communication plays a role in

political socialization insofar as political knowledge is concerned, but its influence does not extend to overt behavior such as campaigning activity" (Chaffee, Ward, & Tipton, 1970, p. 659). The study suggested the need for more research in the role of media in opinion formation, especially the process by which a person, exposed to two conflicting messages on an issue, forms an independent political opinion.

The Extent of Political Socialization

This is largely an unexplored area of research, since there are virtually no longitudinal studies in the field. Such studies would, for example, establish how a child's early political learning affects his/her political performance, etc., as an adult or how the political system affects individual members of society. As Dennis suggests, "The questions here are, 'How politicized does the member become?' and 'How lasting are the effects of his politicization?'" (Dennis, 1973, p. 411).

We have already looked at some of the research which investigates the long-term effects of early political learning. While some evidence suggests that basic political orientations are formed early in life (as suggested by Hess and Torney, 1965), usually between the ages of 3 and 13, and persist throughout the life cycle, there are also some studies

which contradict these findings (e.g., Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

The Bennington College research, a classic study in this area, was also done on a longitudinal basis (Newcomb et al., 1967; for an initial condensed version, see Newcomb, 1963). When the initial study was conducted over 4 consecutive academic years, 1935-37, it was found that the liberal environment of Bennington College had a strong impact on the students. Newcomb found "that juniors and seniors were on the average markedly less conservative than freshmen in attitude toward many public issues of the day" (Newcomb, 1963, p. 5). This trend was confirmed in a follow-up study of the same individuals over 3- and 4-year periods. The individual studies "showed that at Bennington non-conservatism was rather closely associated with being respected by other students, with participation in college activities, and with personal involvement in the College as an institution" (p. 5). When the same students were tested 20 years later it was found that the "individuals who had become less conservative during their college years remain relatively non-conservative" (p. 5). The lasting liberal effect of college has also been confirmed by other studies (Etzioni, 1978). Naturally, in all of these studies the college is a microcosm of the larger political system and in that context it influences individual political beliefs and actions.

Specialized Political Socialization

This area deals primarily with the forces impinging on and helping to shape individuals who become political activists, professionals, or members of any governing elite. We have already made reference to some of the work done on student activism, a worldwide phenomenon in the 1960s and early 1970s.

With regard to the political socialization of elites, there is a substantial literature (from Plato to Mosca, Pareto, and Lloyd Warner) which attends to leadership recruitment and training. Keller (1963), Warner, Van Riper, Martin, and Collins (1963), Matthews (1954), Kazamias and Massialas (1965), Frey (1965), Bottomore (1966), and Wilkinson (1969) are among those who have conducted studies or interpreted available data which establish the pattern of elite selection.

In summarizing many of these findings, Massialas stated the following in a recent article:

> The review of various works in this section of the article points to several conclusions and generalizations. First of all, education emerges as a very important, if not the most important, factor in political selection, recruitment, and training. Depending on the society, such factors as social status, sex, age, and ethnicity do play a role. But the quantity and quality of an individual's education also determines to a considerable degree his/her ascendancy into elite positions. In many cases, however, because of the interrelationship between certain social factors, especially between social class and education, it is very difficult to identify only one as being

the most important. In the countries where empirical studies are available, the following attributes characterize political leaders: (a) university education and (b) specialization in a legal profession. To these attributes are often added such qualifications as knowledge of foreign languages, publications, and study abroad. In many instances (in the United Kingdom, for example), the schools which operate as agents of political recruitment and training, beginning with the primary grades, can be identified without much difficulty. In such instances there is a whole system of feeder schools, and upon admission into the system one is assured of political elite status. When the school system--from the primary grades to the university--has a relatively open policy of admissions, then membership into the politically influential circles is not restricted to the few. However, the system of external examinations, the location of the school and its ethnic composition, the caliber of the teachers, the quality of the school subjects taught, and the overall school milieu may operate as constraining factors in the political mobility of certain segments of society. Depending on the circumstances, the school may function either as a democratizing agent in political development or as an agent in the hands of a controlling elite which attempts to perpetuate its position of power.

Another interesting observation that emerges from the studies of the role of education in political development is that, generally, the type of educational training of political leaders, in and of itself, does not differentiate one country from another. It appears that both developed and developing societies, with the exception of some totalitarian systems, have individuals in political power who have attained a university education and who specialized in the legal professions. That is, the amount and level of education of political leaders in developing societies is very similar to that attained by leaders in developed societies. To explain the differences in these political systems it is necessary to study, in addition to the education of the leaders, the education of the general public and the political traditions of the country. If there is a great gap in educational attainment between the rulers and the ruled, this may create social friction and political instability. Unless there are certain social institutions which mediate

> between the highly educated political elite and the uneducated masses there is always the danger of a breakdown, since one group cannot communicate its ideas and wants to the other. (Massialas, 1977, pp. 290-291)

What is needed in this area is not so much new research but interpretation of existing studies pointing to the specific implications for schools and nonformal education programs. Unless this is done, the research will not be used to the advantage of education, and education may in fact contribute to or accentuate existing social inequalities.

Concluding Comments

This paper sought to review the research literature and relate it to the objectives of citizenship education. In so doing, the author has established behavioral definitions of citizenship and citizen competencies and utilized a conceptual framework, drawn from others, which was relatively comprehensive and provided a minimum of duplication of conceptual categories. Some concluding observations follow.

The behavioral research in the field has been conducted by social scientists, mostly political scientists, as political socialization research. On the other hand, the citizenship objectives in the field have been developed primarily by educators and lay people. As a result, it is generally true that research studies do not match well the objectives of citizenship education. In other words, the studies have

focused on outcomes considered important by the various investigators, without much concern for what school people or citizens' committees advocate. This mismatch has meant that important studies in political socialization have not been taken into account in citizenship programs in the schools, and, conversely, that school problems have not provided the focus of research among social investigators. What is critically needed is a systematic effort to relate research findings to citizenship objectives; this is a task which requires, at a minimum, that appropriate adjustments be made in the language and framework used by researchers, on one hand, and by practitioners, on the other. While this paper marks a beginning in this direction, much more needs to be done.

The author of this review has consistently taken exception to the theoretical framework espoused by most researchers. Their undue emphasis on systems has colored our perception of what education does and can do for individuals, their families, and communities. We have repeatedly discarded whole school programs or introduced new ones simply on the basis of the extent to which they related to the system. If a school created political activists who would question the authorities in the political system and introduce major demands into the system, then (as per systems theory) the school would be thought of as dysfunctional,

since it did not promote the stability and continuity of the system either directly or through "diffuse support." This theoretical frame has extended to the research and narrowed the scope of its agenda; i.e., only systems-relevant questions were asked. For instance, the whole area of how certain schools influence students, teachers, and other key school actors to serve as change agents has received virtually no attention in the literature. As a result, we have accepted almost on faith that the school, regardless of its program, is only good for certifying individuals for occupational placement in society. Thus, the type of education a person receives makes no difference as long as the society places a certain value on it.

We must change our conservative theoretical framework to dynamic ones (mainly sociopsychological and psychoanalytic) which focus on the individual and the community and which use both qualitative and quantitative data-gathering techniques. These frameworks and the research approaches which stem from them would enable us:

> to emphasize the individual's personal growth, his unfolding in his own way, "his flowering," his self-actualization, the opening of his experience to political life, and the development of his capacity to maximize his own idiosyncratic needs and values through the political system. (Sears, 1971, p. 156)

Conceptual frameworks employed by psychologists for the study of cognition or personality (e.g., Piaget, Bruner,

Kohlberg, or Erikson) could provide a good beginning. We need to move from product-oriented to process-oriented research--research that considers socialization as a dynamic interchange between the individual and his/her environment. In this regard, there should be a balance between investigating what individuals learn and investigating how they learn it.

With the change in conceptual schemes, we need concomitant changes in our approaches to the study of political socialization. We have relied much too much on data collected at only one point through the use of questionnaires. We have relied on quantitative rather than qualitative measures to tap in-school and out-of-school influences. Such data-collection techniques have not given us good insights, primarily in the area of affective development. What we now need is data collected through systematic observations, case studies, in-depth interviews, and what anthropologists call "participant-observer" (ethnographic) techniques. These techniques, in addition to the traditional means of data collection through survey research, could give us a broader picture of schooling, a picture which would include such dimensions as classroom psychological climate, cognitive performance, extent of participation in politically relevant decisions--in short, the total culture of the school, political and otherwise. Our studies also need to be conducted on a

long-term basis, so that we can establish changes in the socialization patterns during the individual's life cycle and the sources of those changes.

In addition to the traditional target areas (i.e., cognitive and affective learning) we should concentrate on participatory political skills. Under what conditions do individuals engage directly in decisions affecting them? What skills do they need to be effective as decision makers or as people who want to bring about needed social/political change? In this research we might do well to keep in mind Dewey's maxim: The best learning is "learning by doing." Would this idea hold for political learning? Let us, then, as our first order of priority, study the development and implementation of in-school or out-of-school programs which provide individuals with the opportunity to participate in political decisions affecting them, and let us systematically measure and evaluate these programs to ascertain their impact.

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THE DEFINITION OF CITIZEN CAPACITIES AND RELATED PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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The author considers the content of citizen education, as defined by Research for Better Schools, and suggests an alternative conceptual framework which makes explicit the global as well as the domestic orientation of citizenship. Research on preadult attitudes is reviewed under 4 categories: (a) sense of belonging to a national and to an international political community; (b) awareness of the functioning of national and of international political organizations; (c) understanding of and support for rights guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and (d) motivation to participate in locally, nationally, and internationally oriented political activities. A discussion follows dealing with basic concepts of psychology and recent research findings as they might be applied to formulating and evaluating citizen education programs. The topics include life-span development, the effects of the social context on development, and stage theories of development, as well as concepts such as schema, decalage, centration, and egocentrism. Special attention is given to perspective-taking, including a review of studies of the influence of experiences and techniques which seem to enhance this ability. Children's understanding of social institutions, social conventions, and morality is discussed, including theoretical frameworks recently proposed and evaluations of educational efforts. Social learning theory is considered along with a review of research on the role of modeling and reinforcement in promoting altruistic, prosocial, and cooperative behavior. Several criteria for guiding and judging further explorations of psychological concepts in citizen education are proposed.

The author acknowledges the assistance of Ana M. Toro in preparing this paper and of Patrick Brice in compiling the references.

The working definition of citizen education presented by Research for Better Schools (RBS) (see Preface) appropriately includes several specific aspects of individual capacity. The first part of this paper addresses that conceptualization and suggests an alternative content framework which would include the major aspects of this definition and would also make explicit the domestically and globally oriented aspects of citizenship. The second part of the paper comments on those aspects of the working definition which could be informed by an examination of empirical work in the behavioral sciences, especially psychology.

Framework for a Definition of Citizen Education Content

The majority of political socialization studies in the past have chosen to organize their research under specific agents of socialization (school, family, media) or have made distinctions among values, orientations, cognitions, and skills. The focus upon sources or agents (which I sometimes refer to as the "who-done-it" model) stresses the locus of influence rather than the process of socialization. For psychologists and educators, the process question is the more interesting one. Distinctions among attitudes, values, orientations, and cognitions (similar to those made in the RBS definition among knowledge, skills, and dispositions), however, are sometimes problematic because many of children's

attitudes are fragmentary in nature and closely tied to unrelated bits of information and misinformation. The use of the term dispositions in this definition to describe what others might call attitudes seems appropriate because it stresses an orientation to behavior, not a free-floating affect.

Various other typologies of the content of citizen dispositions have been proposed. Easton (1965) distinguished among government or authority, régime, and political community. Because it is linked to a wide-ranging political-systems theory, this typology has many advantages. Nevertheless, a number of elements have been left out. Other authors have made implicit typologies as they have organized presentations of empirical data. Hess and Torney (1967), for example, distinguished among attachment to the nation, attachment to the government, regard for the "compliance system," and strategies for influencing the political system (including political activity in general and affiliation with political parties). Connell (1971), in his study of Australian children, distinguished the following elements of content: the political order, party choice, ideology, and the global polis. Jennings and Niemi (1974) organized their presentation of data on adolescents under the categories of political parties, public issues, and citizenship roles. The tendency in these studies of political socialization has been to generate lists

of concepts which are at different levels of abstraction and which can make no claim for completeness in their description of the content of citizen competence. To some extent this is also true of the RBS definition.

All the category systems discussed to this point cover the domestic content of political life much more adequately than the global or international content. The increasing interdependence and globalization of political life are not adequately reflected.

The conceptual framework presented in Figure 1 is an attempt to delineate the important topics of citizen education and their ramifications in both the domestic and the global realms. There are four basic dimensions of content in this framework: (a) conception of and sense of belonging to a political community; (b) awareness of and attitudes toward social and political institutions, organizations, and authorities; (c) understanding of and support for human rights; and (d) participation in politically related activities. This multidimensional view of the major substantive aspects of citizenship includes the kinds of distinctions made by authors in the lists of organizing concepts above and also closely resembles independent factors found in empirical attitude studies (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975). Most important, however, these four dimensions can be applied to either the national or the international political order and

Figure 1

Definition Framework for Citizen Education

	Domestic	International/Global
Political community	Sense of belonging to national political community and national loyalty	Sense of belonging to global human community and appreciation of diversity of cultures within it
Organizations	Awareness of functioning of national government, of other organized political groups (including pressure groups and pluralistic conflict)	Awareness of international organizations and/or organizations functioning transnationally
Human rights	Understanding of and support for rights guaranteed in national constitution	Understanding of and support for rights included in International Declaration of Human Rights and appreciation for their universal character
Participation	Motivation to participate in community and nationally oriented political activities	Motivation to participate in political activities which are internationally oriented

Note. This table has appeared in other publications on related topics (Torney, in press).

make the relationship between these two domains explicit.

Political Community

An important aspect of the child's political world is a feeling of membership in a political community. Evidence from Hess and Torney (1967) substantiates the existence of strong support and love for country from an early age. This appears to be inculcated through patriotic rituals and through consensual pressures from many socialization agents.

It is primarily within the last 10 years that the importance of children's understanding of and loyalty to a global community (or to the human community) without regard for national political boundaries has been highlighted. Many assumptions about the relation between loyalty to the national and the global community remain unexamined in research, however. For example, educators assume that there is a fixed amount of loyalty which can be expended either in identification with one's own nation or in identification with a global or human community. This assumption leads to active attempts to inculcate nationalistic feeling even after such loyalty has been firmly established in 99% of the preadult population. (The widespread finding that students find civics classes boring and redundant may result in part from reiteration of lessons learned at earlier ages.)

Some educators argue against international education in the mistaken belief that it will weaken national loyalty.

Many psychologists, in contrast, would argue that the potential for loyalty and identification with community is not a matter of expending a fixed quantity of positive feeling but rather that a person's sense of community can be enhanced in an almost limitless fashion by different group memberships. During middle childhood, after identification with the national political community has taken place, the individual's perspective can be enhanced by relating to a diversity of communities (including the global or human community). Research such as that of Lambert and Klineberg (1967), which will be discussed later with regard to optimal periods of socialization, indicates that the years before age 14 may be especially important in establishing links to a world community.

Domestic and International Political Organizations

The content category in Figure 1 labeled "domestic political organizations" has probably received more attention in the research literature on political socialization than any other category. All the early political socialization studies placed their emphasis on the child's conception of political organizations and feelings about national political authorities. The tendency for young children to personify government may be traced in part to a tendency to be concrete (cognitive basis for personalization) and in part to their transfer of what they know about authority systems which are

tion). Merelman also speculates about the relatively direct sources of personalization:

> Many elementary school teachers and parents encourage the child to believe that political history revolves around extraordinary personages. This socialization process caters to the child's natural tendency to personalize complex social and political forces. (Merelman, 1971, p. 64)

This tendency to personalize political authority has also been found in other countries. In Connell's (1971) interview study of Australian children, both personal figures in that government and the U.S. President were found to be important to children. In addition, Connell introduced the idea of the task pool:

> Children have a pool of ideas about what public figures do, and draw more or less randomly from it to answer the interviewer's questions about any particular one. No distinction is made between level of government, between executive and legislative, or between ceremonial positions and positions of real power....Because the children have little conception of political structure, they cannot readily see the boundaries of politicians' spheres of activities. This produces what, from an adult standpoint, seems a general over-estimation of the power of political figures. (Connell, 1971, pp. 27-28)

The American child begins to see the role qualities of the President as more important than his personal qualities during the period between 8 and 12 and begins to transfer some of his respect for government to Congress and a more institutionalized conception of the government (Hess & Torney, 1967). Although the level of positive feeling for the

President was higher when Kennedy was in office than it has been in more recent years, the process of shifting from personal to role concepts is similar. In fact, a summary of research on post-Watergate attitudes of children suggests age trends which are very similar to earlier periods (Dawson, Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977).

Children are much less familiar with international and transnational organizations than they are with domestic political organizations. This may be, in part, because there are no visible personal representatives for most international organizations, because many adults (including teachers) have little information, and because school texts make only passing reference to the UN and fail to mention other international and transnational organizations at all. There is also a paucity of research on children's knowledge and awareness of international organizations, with the exception of a few studies of attitudes toward the UN (see review of these in ch. 6, Buergenthal & Torney, 1976, and also a report of a survey of the attitudes to the UN of young people in nine nations in Torney, 1977.)

Domestic and International Human Rights

It is ironic that political-socialization researchers have paid a great deal of attention to issues of authority, political organization, and political partisanship, while many of those who have studied conceptions of civil and

political rights have done their work in isolation (Remmers & Franklin, 1963). The domestic issues studied have generally been the right to vote, limitations of citizen expression of opinion, and attitudes toward racial equality. With the possible exception of the work of Gallatin and Adelson, it is only in the past 5 to 10 years that domestic rights have been investigated (see Zellman & Sears, 1971). Typically, only one group of rights is considered at a time. For example, there will be a study related to domestic civil rights and racial equality or to rights of women in politics and society. The IEA investigated several dimensions of support for democratic rights and values (in relation to the domestic political system) and found that intergroup tolerance and civil liberties, women's rights, and support for equality clustered to form a similar and relatively unified dimension in each of nine countries (Torney et al., 1975).

The lack of an integrated research program is still more apparent if one searches for studies of young people's attitudes toward human rights defined in relation to international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Although there are not many empirical studies of young people's grasp of either domestic or international human rights, it is clear that the political education process in the United States places considerably more emphasis on

domestically guaranteed rights than on international human rights. And it appears that this may actually contribute to a certain nation-centered perspective about rights in this country. American children's first classroom exposure to discussion of human rights is almost certain to be in connection with the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. An attempt is often made to indicate the personal relevance of these documents by discussing examples of the children's own exercise of rights--going to the church of their choice, reading the newspaper of their choice. The stress placed upon domestic guarantees of human rights and the use of examples drawn almost exclusively from the U.S. Constitution lead many young people to believe that the United States is the only country where such rights are recognized.

The recent emphasis upon internationally defined human rights as a cornerstone of American foreign policy has not as yet stimulated either a focus upon documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or comprehensive empirical studies of the universality which exists in conceptions of basic human rights among all of the peoples of the world.

Gallatin's (1976) report of a cross-national study of 300 young people in America, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany was intended primarily as a comparative

study of conceptions of domestic civil rights. These students were asked in an interview to imagine that a thousand people who were dissatisfied with their government had moved to a Pacific island, where they were confronted with various political and social problems. There was a striking increase with age in the tendency to "appeal to principle" (to be aware of the application of ideal norms to specific situations) and to consider the balance between individual freedom and public welfare in the process of resolving disputes. This seemed to be related to an emerging understanding of the importance of weighing the rights of the individual against the needs of society as a whole.

Some cross-national differences did appear in these data, with American students expressing a particularly strong concern for individual civil liberties; Gallatin attributed this to formal instruction in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. The British adolescents, on the other hand, were especially pragmatic in their responses. The Germans, in contrast to the other two groups, had:

> an intriguingly mixed approach to the concept of rights, the unquestioning acceptance of certain policies, the disregard for personal freedom in a concrete situation, and yet the surprisingly strong insistence of legal protection for individual freedom. (Gallatin, 1976, pp. 321-322)

Gallatin's conclusion documents the existence of certain common elements of concern for individual rights in all these

nations and the important changes during adolescence:

> As interesting as are the cross-cultural differences, the developmental differences appeared on the whole to be more impressive....Older subjects from all three countries demonstrated far more understanding of the concept and commitment to the ideal than did younger subjects....Whatever their differences, these three nations share, at least in recent history, a common political philosophy (which) stipulates that rulers serve the ruled and that the government is obligated to furnish certain basic services for its citizens and grant them a set of inalienable rights. (Gallatin, 1976, p. 323)

Bloom (1977), who studied groups of university students, also stressed the similarity of conceptions of rights in Hong Kong, France, and the United States. He found two relatively independent dimensions: social principledness (readiness to differentiate between a conventional and a personal standard of morality in making sociopolitical decisions) and social humanness (readiness to grant priority to the human implications of decisions).

Further investigation is needed of universal conceptions of human rights in Western and non-Western societies, starting with the most basic human rights, such as the right to life and the right not to be tortured. This research should include children of elementary school ages. If citizens are to understand the implications of government policy domestically and internationally, an understanding of both domestically and internationally guaranteed human rights is essential.

Domestic and International Political-Participation Skills

The fourth dimension in Figure 1 is in one sense a culmination of the other three. Participation builds community, is frequently channeled through or limited by political organizations, and is often a conscious exercise of rights. In fact, the right to peaceful assembly and association and the right to take part in the government of one's country are explicitly guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Articles 10 and 21).

Research by Brookes and Sigel (Note 1) suggests that images of the performance of government institutions and political participation are closely tied. Participation is often seen by political scientists as the most important element of citizenship in a democracy. Skills required for effective participation are of great importance in all definitions of citizenship. Motivation to actually utilize one's skills in participating is also vital.

An important source for interest in exercising such skills may be the experience of being an originator of actions whose results are visible. DeCharms (1971) describes a program in which children learn to label behavior of which they are "the origin" and behavior in which they feel like "pawns." The origin behavior may be a precursor of a sense of competence in exercising political-participation skills. For example, much of children's fascination with machinery

--typewriters, pushbutton machines, automobiles--is that they can see individual efforts magnified by the use of the machine, and thus they feel like an origin. Education guidelines, which stress the active mode of participation in school, also make this point:

> All other things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it permits children to make informed choices in carrying out the activity and to reflect on the consequences of their choices ...if it assigns students active roles in the learning situation rather than passive ones...if it involves children with real objects rather than pictures, models, or narrative accounts. (Raths, 1971, pp. 717-718)

Those who have done research on political participation have, for the most part, failed to distinguish between interest and skills related to domestic political concerns and those related to international issues. Many aspects of educational programs designed to increase the sense of participation competence are similar. There are some important reasons for making the distinction, however. Alger (1977) has identified a tendency for Americans to believe erroneously that the only major sources of transnational activity are foreign-policy experts, when, in fact, the everyday activities of citizens involve them in such activities.

The low level of awareness and information which American students possess concerning international organizations and the international protection of human rights makes it more difficult to equip them for suitable activity in the

global arena. For example, if children know nothing of UNESCO's activities to improve education in developing countries, how can they see appropriate kinds of participation in these activities, judge the U.S. government's participation in them, or see how local community groups might be involved? If young children believe that only the United States protects the right of peaceful assembly and association, how can they work with an organization like Amnesty International, which seeks freedom for individuals who have been imprisoned for exercising these rights? Important components of various participation skills are discussed in the following sections dealing with perspective-taking and prosocial or altruistic behavior.

Summary of Definition Framework

The majority of attention of both political educators and political-socialization researchers has been directed to the categories in Figure 1 which deal with domestic political community, organizations, rights, and participation. The same is true of the current RBS definition of citizen education. That is not to say that domestic citizenship is unimportant, but only to point out the importance of the global dimension. The framework presented in Figure 1 has been presented here in detail so that it might serve to organize elements of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions in the RBS definition.

Psychological Research on Social Development[1]

Although no unifying theory or conceptual framework for the study of social development is universally accepted, there has recently been a great expansion in research in these areas. Here we consider studies related most directly to the dispositional aspects of the RBS definition, while not overlapping with Gergen and Ullman's (1977) recent review. This section includes aspects of developmental psychology and its basic concepts (including Piaget), a brief review of empirical studies of moral development, and a survey of research on perspective-taking and social conventional concepts. A second major section considers social learning theory, especially as applied to the acquisition of cooperative and altruistic behavior.

Basic Concepts of Developmental Psychology

Certain basic concepts of developmental psychology, which have been the focus of substantial research, have important implications for defining citizen education. There is an increasing focus upon what is called life-span developmental psychology--an attempt to examine those processes of change

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[1]Several pages of this section parallel parts of a chapter in a special report prepared for the U.S. Office of Education (McCurley & Torney, Note 2). The author has built on the groundwork of that chapter in addressing issues of the present paper.

in personality and behavior which extend throughout life. In the past 10 years it has become increasingly clear that many changes take place in young adulthood, middle age, and old age which, although not tied to physiological maturation, are nevertheless developmental in character. Because citizen education extends across the life span, it is important also to consider psychological research in this framework.

There is also an increasing understanding of the cumulative nature of development and its basic continuity. What is learned by a child or adolescent at the age of 12 or 14 builds upon the attitudes, skills, and dispositions acquired in previous years. A person of 25 who finds himself/herself involved in political issues does not begin acquiring skills of advocacy at that point. In the opinion of Searing (1973), too much socialization research has made the assumption of primacy effects--the importance of attitudes acquired early in life. Although most would argue that these attitudes do not completely structure or determine later opinions, the principles of cumulation and continuity are an important basis for understanding psychological development in citizenship areas throughout the life span.

A recent survey of life-span developmental psychology described the objectives of developmental psychology as "the description, explanation, and modification (optimization) of intraindividual change in behavior and interindividual

differences in such change across the life span" (Baltes, Reese, & Nesselroade, 1977). Description and explanation have long been thought of as functions of psychology. The potential of a developmental psychology for optimizing development thereby is a thrust which orients the interests of developmental psychologists toward issues important in citizen education. It is not only that those designing citizen education programs can benefit from psychological research; it is also true that the psychologist's aim of optimizing development can be furthered by changes in social institutions, such as those which heighten opportunities for citizen participation or strengthen a sense of community at the local, national, or international level.

In the life-span approach to developmental psychology, great stress is placed upon understanding how intraindividual change and interindividual differences are modified by the social context of different historical periods. Much of the Baltes et al. (1977) book is devoted to a description of methods of assessing these historical or cohort effects.

Nesselroade and Baltes (1974) investigated the relationship between ontogenetic (or individual) and sociocultural (or historical) change in adolescent personality and ability. Their reasoning was as follows:

> Earlier, developmental research was assumed to provide...relatively robust information on ontogenetic patterns that could be generalized to subsequent

> decades. Present cultural change, however, appears so rapid and pervasive in its effects that results from "one-shot" cross sectional or longitudinal studies are threatened with obsolescence before they can be marketed for the scientific consumer. (Nesselroade & Baltes, 1974, p. 1)

These authors used a sequence of 2-year longitudinal studies conducted in 1970, 1971, and 1972 with a group of 1,800 13- to 18-year-olds drawn at random from 32 West Virginia high schools. Their conclusion was that there was a substantial change between 1970 and 1972 which could more appropriately be attributed to sociocultural change than to within-individual (ontogenetic) developmental change. In particular, there were decreases in achievement, in super-ego strength, and in socioemotional maturity in these students as well as an increase in independence. The investigators concluded that these changes reflected changes in the social context:

> The cultural context for the 1970-72 period was such that youth had a tendency to occupy itself with ethical, moral and political issues rather than with an orientation toward cognitive achievement. Furthermore various public opinion polls reported a gradual decline in respect and confidence for public and educational leadership. (Nesselroade & Baltes, 1974, p. 59)

Cohort effects and measures of the social context are important to the design of studies of social development if findings are to remain valid over time.

There is also a body of research on cognitive development which may be viewed as somewhat less subject to the influence

of changes in social and cultural context than is personality development.

Those who have written about citizen education and political socialization in the past have frequently made reference to the importance of cognitive development of young people, but they have considered this development in relatively general terms. For example, cognitive immaturity influences the use of political information:

> Children do not simply reproduce the communications that reach them from the adult world. They work them over, detach them from their original contexts, and assimilate them to a general conception of what the government is about. (Connell, 1971, p. 27-28)

Assimilation of new information to existing schemas accounts for much of what seems strange about children's conceptions of citizenship institutions.

Most psychologists who compare older and younger children agree that there is a movement from a lesser to a greater degree of organization in their thought. Connell's description is a good example:

> Nationality apart, political consciousness at these ages (5 and 6) is a collection of scraps of information, unrelated to each other and with no special status to distinguish them from other bits and pieces of the world; there is no conception of politics as a distinct sphere of activity. We may note the arguments (at this intuitive stage) that leap so suddenly from topic to topic...the seizing on odd and irrelevant details, and the apparently random juxtapositions of details, the repeated bending of reality to the demands of a momentary stream of thought. More generally, the punctate character of the understanding of politics reflects the lack of synthesizing

> power in intuitive thought...these children lack a conception of political structure not because they lack sources of information about it, but because they lack the cognitive equipment to represent it. About the age of 7, as many psychologists have observed, there is an important and relatively sudden change in the character of children's thinking. This change is great enough to mark off the period which goes before it as a distinct stage, a kind of prologue to politics. (Connell, 1971, pp. 17-18)

Other authors give similar descriptions:

> Older age students find politics more salient as well as more comprehensible. They have developed the cognitive skills and motivation to pay attention to, to understand and retain political knowledge....Moreover, their perceptions show a movement from personalism, parochialism, and concreteness toward greater impersonalism, universalism, and abstractness. (Andrain, 1971, p. 89)

Adelson and O'Neil (1966) also point to the movement from personalism to impersonalism; from a present, concrete, specific orientation to a more future, abstract, and general orientation; from a concern with one's own individual needs to a greater responsiveness to community needs.

Developmental themes have been used in education primarily to aid in the formation of sequences of instructional material to insure that most children to whom it is directed have appropriate cognitive structures for interpreting it. Likewise, it is important to identify periods such as middle childhood when change is rapid and when students appear to be open to new information. The assumptions children make about the social world, some of which are idiosyncratic and others of which are especially characteristic of groups of different

ages, must be understood before programs and curricula which mesh with these frames of reference can be developed. The individual who wishes to use information about developmental psychology in designing programs and in evaluating their effectiveness, needs to strike a balance between two extremes: (a) taking only the most general statements which can be derived from such theories (e.g., that development proceeds from concrete to abstract) and applying them to citizen education programs, or (b) taking a specific cognitive-developmental program with little explicit citizenship content, hoping that somehow good results will generalize from it to the specific political realm. Further discussion and work should be directed to specifying the use of developmental concepts in such a way that reasonable positions between these two extremes can be found.

For many years those who might be called pure developmentalists demonstrated experimentally that true developmental processes could be neither shaped nor accelerated by training (Smedslund, 1961). More recently, however, several curricula for early childhood education based on Piaget's theory have been published (Kamii & DeVries, 1974), and Kohlberg has participated in extensive attempts to set up a "Just" community school to provide the kind of experiences which he expects will accelerate or optimize moral-stage development (some of this work is reviewed in a subsequent section). For the

citizen educator, the principle of optimization needs to be linked with specific programs of content. Rosenau's summary of the interchange between environment and conception is a useful one:

> Each individual's development of an understanding of political phenomena will follow a natural progression whose sequence and content will be dictated by the experience that his interpersonal world provides him as this experience is organized by his evolving cognitive capacities. (Rosenau, 1975, p. 174)

There are three important aspects to a citizen education program: (a) the cognitive capacities of those experiencing it, (b) the characteristics of the real political-interpersonal world, and (c) the kinds of experiences provided with the explicit intent of fostering learning. The second component includes what is often called the hidden curriculum (which I refer to here as the implicit curriculum), interaction with peers, and the characteristics of the political world (e.g, existence of opportunities for citizen participation). The balance of these factors differs at different levels. During childhood, cognitive change is very rapid, and the explicit curriculum is likely to be concentrated in a few areas such as compliance and national loyalty. In adolescence, cognitive development is slower, and both explicit and implicit curriculum, as well as societal characteristics, become important.

The analysis of the balance between these factors is an

important aspect of the design of programs in citizen education. In addition to this general view of the role of cognitive development, there are also concepts from developmental theories which are important for their more specific applicability to processes of citizen education. A number of these come from the Piagetian conceptualization of the cognitive development of infants, children, and adolescents.

An important aspect of the theory is the stage concept, important not only to Piaget's theory but also to Freud and Erikson in the realm of personality development and to Kohlberg in the area of cognitive-developmental approaches to moral development and sex-role development. Stage change or development is defined in cognitive-developmental theory as directional, sequential, and qualitative transformations in psychological structure. The directional character of stages refers to the belief that individuals do not reverse their progression or regress from a more advanced to a less advanced form of behavior. Sequential change refers to the belief that it is necessary to proceed through stages in an invariant order (without skipping any) and to the belief that higher stages integrate the structures of lower stages. Qualitative change refers to change in structure and form of response, not merely change in content. Although most stage theories have concentrated on the years of childhood, when

developmental stage progression is particularly apparent, the existence of stage change in adulthood is also important:

> Childhood interactional or structural stages cannot be completely distinguished from maturational stages....Chronological ages and the hereditary component of I.Q. generate an index of maturation with which Piaget stages are correlated. Until maturation is completed, presumably in adolescence, then, it is impossible to disentangle the role of maturation in generating...stage change. (Kohlberg, 1973, p. 183)

This discussion of the existence of stages in adulthood highlights two problems with some interpretations of Piaget's (and Kohlberg's) theories: the tendency to focus on factors of biological maturation and to stress the age boundaries which have been suggested for stages. The essence of the developmental process, according to Piaget, is the interaction between the child and the environment. Because of a combination of biological maturation and experiences which the young child has interacting with the physical environment, trying out mental schema and transforming those which are inadequate, stage development is rapid during childhood. But the essential part of the developmental process is the interaction of the internal and the external. Unlike simple motoric achievements (such as a baby turning over), which are likely to be determined primarily by physiological maturity and which can therefore be expected to occur sometime within a relatively small range of months for normal babies, cognitive development depends on this interplay of maturation and

experience. In this view, age is an index to which the observer ties development.

The age bounds placed on Piagetian stages indicate the sequence of development (that formal operations appear after concrete operations, for example); that is to say, these age bounds are not intended to indicate something particular about being 12 years old as contrasted with being 8 years old. Twelve-year-olds have more mature neural structure than 8-year-olds; they also have had more opportunities to use these structures and to experience their adequacies and inadequacies. It is the recognition of the constantly shifting balance between assimilating new information to old structures and accommodating structures to better utilize new experience that best identifies a developmental position (as defined by Piaget or Kohlberg). The previous quotation from Kohlberg points to the fact that the whole process of stage development can be much more clearly understood when a life-span perspective is adopted. If stage development occurs after maturational changes have ceased, it can only be the product of environmental interaction.

It would be of limited usefulness to attempt to formulate a stage sequence of citizen education (see discussion of Turiel's work in a later section for a stage sequence for social convention). But the overriding ideas encompassed by a stage theory are important to the use of concepts of development in

citizen education. Perhaps programs should be evaluated with a view to the following: (a) the opportunities provided for the young person to try out developing structures on environmental realities, (b) the program's focus upon potential qualitative changes in the structure of thought rather than merely quantitative change in amount of information, and (c) utilization of sequences of activities corresponding to the sequential characteristics of development and the particular characteristics of children of a given age (see further discussion of educational implications at the conclusion of this section).

Although it is probably true that the cognitive-developmental position in general is more useful for citizen education than the specifics of any one theory, it is nevertheless valid to consider some of Piaget's concepts (in addition to stage) as they have relevance for citizen education. A schema, according to Piaget, is a cognitive structure which represents an organized mode of adapting to the environment. Sensorimotor development in infancy provides a simple example: The baby, as a result of the interchange between him/herself and the environment, acquires the grasping schema which gradually becomes refined and coordinates with other schema to produce more complex kinds of behavior. The only authors to make explicit reference to schema in the area of political socialization are Cooper (1965) and Connell (1971);

both have described a schema of conflict and threat. For example:

> (Children) can and do make sense of their information about war by assimilating it to the schema of conflict between goodies and baddies that they get in the television cartoons, stories of cops and robbers....The threat schema has roots much earlier in life than any ideas about communism. Details about Vietnam...are assimilated to the primitive, diffuse fears of early childhood. The idea of an external threat to the country thus becomes charged with... fears of violent intrusion into the "nice and safe" places of the child's own life. (Connell, 1971, p. 102)

A child may incorporate new elements without changing the schema (assimilation) or make alterations when new elements no longer adequately fit the present schema (accommodation). Schema are an amalgamation of cognitive and affective components (in contrast to attitudes, which are exclusively affective and often have a positive-negative connotation).

As a term, schema also has the advantage of being more flexible than concept, which is thought of as relatively fixed once it has been achieved. The idea of a schema focuses on a child's own experience and the way he/she builds upon it. The term itself is a bit cumbersome to nonpsychologists because of its rather technical usage, but it has certain advantages. Perhaps it would be useful to consider the child's schema of power, of justice, of rights, of partisanship, for example.

Piaget's (1951) concept of décalage is also an important

modifier of cognitive-developmental theory applied to the social realm. Although it may be useful to think of an individual as being generally characterized by performance at a given stage, he/she will not necessarily be able to apply the structures associated with that stage equally well to all kinds of content. Tasks differ in the extent to which they resist and inhibit or encourage and support the application of an existing cognitive structure. The concept of décalage is useful, therefore, in accounting for the fact that a child is seldom at the same developmental stage in every area of performance. This holds true even within concrete tasks; for example, a child may be able to perform a conservation task of weight before he/she can conserve volume of fluid.

Décalage is even more pronounced in the area under consideration here. To expand this point:

> Abstract thinking...emerges earlier in science than in social studies because children have more experience manipulating ideas about mass, time, and space than about government, social interaction, and historical events. (Ausubel, cited in Andrain, 1971, p. 70)

Connell stresses the vital importance of providing the child a chance to manipulate the environment in order to accommodate schema and reduce décalage:

> The children can exert no influence on politics themselves. Now a child learns about the physical world in large measure by operating on it, by holding, biting, and moving toys, by walking around a playground, by squashing plasticine, by dismantling a car engine.

> He learns about his intimate social environment also, in large measure, through the reactions of others to his own advances and enterprises. But the child cannot do this to his political environment....This means that he cannot test his political conceptions against the reactions of their objects to his actions....So the child's political thought is not constrained by political reality, and there persistence of gross misconception and implausible myths is made possible. (Connell, 1971, p. 22)

In many respects the Piagetian framework does not fit precisely with the frameworks and data common to citizen education:

> We are a long way indeed from the paradigm situation in Piaget's researches, the direct construction by the child of interpretations of his environment independent of adults and their thought. Here (in political attitudes)...the child's basic task is to master certain forms and realizations of adult thought where the materials for doing so are manufactured and supplied by adults. (Connell, 1971, p. 230)

There is one Piagetian concept of special interest to citizen education specialists because of its wide-ranging influence on social development. He describes younger children as characterized by perceptual centration (Piaget, 1950); by this he means that they are overwhelmed by one aspect of a perceptual situation (usually the most obvious one) and are unable to focus on other or contradictory ones. This is one of the reasons that young children are not capable of what Piaget calls conservation; when water is poured from a long, tall glass into a short, fat one, children perceive that the amount changes because they focus perceptually on only one dimension of the display--the height of

water in the tall glass, for example. Centration may also explain some facets of political (mis)perceptions, and it may be important to identify the aspect of a situation which holds this especially prominent place for a young person.

The child's inability to view a situation from more than one perspective or point of view, usually called egocentrism, is closely related to centration. Piaget's early investigations concentrated on children's ability to view a perceptual display as it appears to someone in a position different from their own. More recent research has concentrated on the child's ability to take a nonegocentric point of view regarding a cognitive or social situation. There has been a great deal of recent research on children's perspective-taking and role-taking ability.

Among the major work is that of Flavell (Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, & Jarvis, 1968). He states that when a child fails to take the perspective of another individual in a situation calling for it, any or several of four different reasons may explain the failure: The child may have been (a) unaware of the existence of a different perspective; (b) unaware that the situation at hand requires that a different perspective be taken; (c) unable to maintain an adequate representation of the other's perspective and to inhibit his/her own perspective; or (d) unable to use the information to modify his/her subsequent behavior.

According to Flavell, the first component, awareness of the existence of other perspectives, emerges during early childhood and refers simply to the awareness that the self and another individual may apprehend objects or events differently.

With regard to the second component, need for another perspective, the child is aware that different people have different perspectives, but he/she is not able to identify situations which require that another perspective be taken. Evidence for changes in this component can be drawn from studies on referential communication, where it has been shown that the older child becomes increasingly aware of the necessity of attending to the characteristics of his/her audience when communicating (Glucksberg, Krauss, & Higgins, 1975; Glucksberg, Krauss, & Weisberg, 1966). For example, an older child who must speak to a normal adult listener and to one who has been blindfolded fashions different messages for them.

The situation of contrasting audiences is similar to that faced by the bilingual child. Encounters with "contrasting" audiences (i.e., with individuals who speak different languages) require that the child be aware of the particular language to be used in the situation. Since recognition of the appropriate language is crucial for effective communication, it can be speculated that the bilingual child may be

forced to develop this skill earlier than the monolingual child. A study by Genessee, Tucker, and Lambert (1975) does, in fact, suggest that bilingual children are more sensitive to the communication needs of a blindfolded listener than are monolirgual children. Three groups of kindergarten, first-grade, and second-grade children were tested on a referential communication task. The control group attended English schools and were taught in English; the second group, a partial-immersion group, attended English schools with French speakers; the third group, a total-immersion group, attended French schools and were educated in French. All children were native English speakers and were tested in English. It was found that both immersion groups, particularly the total-immersion group, were significantly more sensitive to the needs of the blindfolded listener than was the control group. The authors suggested that the communication skills of the bilingual children may have been enhanced by their linguistically enriched environment. Research to test the various ways in which bilingual children may differ from monolingual children in acquiring perspective-taking and role-taking skill is in progress (Toro, Note 3).

In the third component of Flavell's model, it is assumed that the child is able to inhibit his/her own perspective in order to engage in the process of perspective-taking. For example, in a set of cartoons developed by Chandler (1973),

the child is asked to describe the events of a seven-picture sequence. Three pictures are then removed, and the child is asked to retell the story from the perspective of someone who arrived late and does not have access to certain information which others have. It is necessary that the child suppress his/her own perspective (i.e., knowledge of the original story) in order to retell the story correctly (and thus take the perspective of the late-arriving individual).

The fourth component of Flavell's model, application, refers to the ability to respond appropriately to the other's perspective and to modify one's behavior accordingly. This ability may involve skills which are independent of the role-taking process itself. For example, children may be aware of the fact that a blindfolded listener needs specific information about an object, but they may not be able to form an adequate message. Furthermore, there may be situational cues which tend to elicit or inhibit an appropriate message.

Rudimentary perspective-taking abilities characterize children as young as 4 years of age, most of whom can identify situations which evoke happy feelings. It is not until middle childhood, however, that they are able (a) to identify the emotions of people who are markedly dissimilar to themselves in important ways or who are in unfamiliar situations, and (b) to view a social episode from the perspective of each participant before coordinating the different

perspectives (Shantz, 1976). The precise character of developmental changes in perspective-taking differs according to the particular aspect measured (Kurdek, 1978).

In addition to studies which define the concept and measurement of perspective-taking and trace its developmental progress, there is research which supports the view that perspective-taking skills are related to social cooperation, that delay in the development of these skills is linked to some forms of social deviancy, and that it may be possible to enhance perspective-taking ability through certain kinds of educational experiences. In a study by Chandler (1973), 45 chronically delinquent boys aged 11-13 were found to be deficient in social-cognitive role-taking when compared to nondelinquents. A program was implemented to enhance the adolescents' perspective-taking capacities. An experimental group spent half an hour a week, for 10 weeks, making videotapes of skits involving characters of their own age and observing their own performance in different roles in these skits. The delinquents who participated in this training improved more in their role-taking ability and showed lower subsequent delinquency than a matched group which made animated cartoons or films about their neighborhood in which they neither performed different roles nor watched their own behavior. Berlak (1977) described a citizen education program based on awareness of others' perspectives.

A study by Weinheimer (1972) also suggests that perspective-taking may be an important aspect of interpersonal competence. Eight-year-olds were found to be more capable of reconciling the perspectives of others than were 5-year-olds. Skill in reconciling perspectives was found to occur more frequently when the situation presented to the 8- or 5-year-olds involved children rather than adults.

In addition to Flavell's conception of important steps in perspective-taking and role-taking, Selman (1976) proposed a series of stages in role-taking. He has applied his findings regarding the child's increasing abilities to take the role of another to understanding both educational processes and clinical problems. Selman has examined children's general social problem-solving ability (ability to play cooperative or competitive games), communication and persuasion abilities, understanding of the feelings of others (empathy or sympathy), and understanding of fairness and justice leading to moral reasoning. He posits and describes five stages, covering the age range from 4 to 12, in the ability to distinguish the perspectives of different people, relate them to each other, and analyze them. Although in these studies children are asked to respond to stories which are similar to those used in Kohlberg's moral-development research, Selman distinguishes between level of understanding of social relations (role-taking) and moral judgment:

> Moral judgment considers how people should think and act with regard to each other, while social role taking considers how and why people do in fact think about and act toward each other. (Selman, 1976, p. 307)

However, Selman proposes parallel stages for social role-taking and moral judgment. And he views certain age periods as particularly important:

> Whereas late adolescence can be seen as a critical period for the development of principled moral thought, the ages of 8 or 9 to 12 can be seen as an important period for the development of general social thought and interpersonal experience. (Selman, 1976, p. 310)

Selman also developed film strip-discussion programs to enhance the social role-taking abilities of children aged 6 to 12 and has found gains in role-taking ability, especially when teachers continue to use such group-discussion methods over a long period. He also reported that there are long-run changes in teachers' understanding of student behavior when they grasp the idea that before children attain a certain stage level, they do not have an adequate understanding of trust and friendship. Selman views the importance of this type of research as organizing and describing behavior in a way that makes possible intervention to optimize development.

Selman, Jacquette, and Lavin (1977) have set forth an expanded sequence of stages of perspective-taking in several social areas: physical-cognitive (corresponding

closely to Piaget's conceptions), individual (view of the self), friendship (ranging from momentary physical playmate to one-way assistance to autonomous interdependence), and peer group (ranging from physical connection and unilateral relations to pluralistic organization). The authors believe that at each stage there is a certain commonality of ability across the interpersonal domain (self, friendship, and peer group) and that individuals will operate at a similar level in each.

Let us take an example related to children's understanding of loyalty. At stage 0, loyalty is seen as a matter of physical proximity (being with a group because everyone is holding hands); at stage 1, loyalty is unilateral obedience to a leader; at stage 2, loyalty is an exchange of favors in teamwork or bilaterally in the form of partnerships; at stage 3, loyalty is the individual's contribution to an ongoing communal whole; at stage 4, group loyalty is an agreement to give up one's personal goals for the sake of group goals (Selman et al., 1977, p. 269). Children who have experienced extremely disruptive home and school experiences (which are manifested in their disordered relations with others), according to these authors, fail to develop as rapidly as others through stages in the domain of social reasoning. To examine this possibility, children referred to a clinic were compared with a normal, nonreferred group.

The so-called disturbed children did equally well on tests of physical-logical reasoning. However, in the special tasks developed by Selman to assess reasoning about interpersonal relations, the clinic children performed at a lower level. Selman gives an example of this linkage:

> A 14 year old boy who still defines a friend as "someone who does what I want him to do" is very likely to have a great deal of difficulty relating to average adolescents who see friendship as based upon cooperation and reciprocal affection. (Selman et al., 1977, p. 271)

Programs being developed at Judge Baker Clinic in Boston by Selman and his colleagues attempt to accelerate movement into later stages of social reasoning.

There is argument among some psychologists as to whether the stage conception is an essential part of the logic of these positions. But for the educator, enhanced perspective-taking, particularly as it can be fostered by video presentations and role-playing, has tremendous potentials for citizen education, especially in assisting individuals to take the perspective of those who are different from themselves and in helping individuals who are considering antisocial acts to understand their potential effect on victims.

Understanding Social Institutions: Egotypical and Egocentric Points of View

Another recent attempt to relate cognitive (logical) development to social development should be noted before we

turn to a brief review of the specific area of moral development.

Furth, Baur, and Smith (1976) studied the development of conceptions of social institutions among English 5- to 11-year-olds using a free-response format designed to elicit the process of thought about social and economic institutions rather than knowledge of facts. Their conclusions were similar in many respects to those of Connell. They questioned 5- to 6-year-old children about adults performing occupations and found that young children saw little conflict between what individuals liked to do and their roles; they focused on external or physical aspects of roles (e.g., the uniform worn); and they were egotypical in their approach. The egotypical response (related to cognitive egocentrism) is a generalization from personal experience to an entire institution. For example, the young child assumes that all teachers or bus drivers are like the ones he/she knows. This egotypic reasoning gives way to more stereotypic perceptions as the child becomes familiar with mass media presentations of such roles. At a still later stage the child differentiates the personality of one individual role occupant from the necessary aspects of a social role. In the years between 7 and about 11, children begin to check knowledge of particular individuals against that of a system of relationships. Individual differences are recognized,

constraints on personal free choice seen, and a network of subsystems understood. Furth and his colleagues explain the child's changing understanding of social institutions as follows:

> As the child experiences the possibility of comparing, relating, interpreting, and explaining of personal encounters with other persons and social institutions, these experiences become the occasions that lead to an ever increasing understanding.... Social institutions do not exist as concrete objects that can be acted upon but as abstract entities that can be formalized in propositional language. The educational system, the commercial enterprise, the political network, the historical-geographic perspective, none of these things can be adequately conceived except in complex interrelated propositions....And to comprehend propositional structures is the prerogative of the (Piagetian) stage of formal operations. (Furth et al., 1976, p. 370)

Formal operations are characteristic of adolescence, and Furth noted that none of the children in this sample (where the oldest was 11) evidenced such a full understanding. The progression was, however, in that direction. The authors' major point, however, is that:

> In all societies the developmental component, which depends on the child's growing logical intelligence --as distinct from the component responsible for specific environmental information--would play a major part in children's acquisition of social understanding....logical rules are instruments by which a child knows something in the world, including the self. (Furth et al., 1976, p. 373)

Furth and his colleagues stress the import of paying specific attention to children's understanding of the social world, not simply to developing logical abilities and hoping that

the child will come to apply them to personal relations and social institutions. They state:

> This is an integral part of intellectual development, particularly at an historical time when the fabric of social institutions with its advanced degree of technology, bureaucracy, and commercialism is no longer readily observable to a normally curious child....If children do not use their best capacity of thinking vis-à-vis society's institutions, this can result in a truncated and one-sided kind of intelligence and an eventual emotional alienation from society. I am not suggesting that the schools should "teach" the social insights...just as I do not hold they should teach Piaget's physical logical tasks. (There are)...consequences which could be realized, however, in the setting up of an educational...environment that would intentionally nourish and foster the child's social thinking as an obligatory component of overall intellectual health. (Furth et al., 1976, p. 373)

Although the implications for citizen education are implicit rather than program-specific, this attempt to relate Piaget's work to social institution concepts is an important one.

Although most developmental studies define egocentrism as a relatively unitary dimension and document its decline during the period of middle childhood, Elkind (1970) has proposed a way of relating the development of cognitive structures to affective development by examining the specific type of egocentrism which is characteristic of each age period. During the early school years, children are egocentric in the sense that they fail to differentiate between assumptions and facts. Elkind calls these cognitive structures "assumptive realities." On the basis of limited experience children make

an assumption which they then apply indiscriminately to situations and which they resist changing even in the face of contradictory evidence.

Related to this is the belief, also characteristic of middle childhood, that children are wiser than adults: "cognitive conceit." This belief may interfere with children's learning some of the facts about human social institutions on the grounds that they are foolish or unnecessary. Cognitive conceit is only a partial constraint, however:

> Just as primitive man prayed for rain but also irrigated his field, so do children believe in their intellectual superiority while they frequently behave as if adults were wiser and more knowledgeable. (Elkind, 1970, p. 64)

At adolescence, the stage of formal operations, young persons become able to think about their own thought and also to think about the thought of others. Elkind believes that this results in egotism in which the individual fails to differentiate between what others are thinking and their own mental preoccupations. This eventuates in adolescents' believing that others are as preoccupied with their behavior and appearance as they themselves are. Elkind has taken egocentrism into the social as well as the cognitive realm. This view and its educational implications deserve further exploration. Another interesting possibility is that the end of middle childhood, when the influence of assumptive realities may be somewhat lessened and before adolescent

egocentrism sets in, may be an especially flexible period for education about social issues. Several other writers have also identified that period as an important one (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967).

The application of cognition to social and nonsocial matters (or, in other words, the relation between the cognitive and the affective domains) is a matter of interest to many psychologists at the present time. The projection of these theoretical and research thrusts into educational programs has only begun.

Moral-Development Education

A number of specific programs of moral-development education have been approached primarily from a cognitive-developmental approach (associated with the theory of Kohlberg and the educational development work of Fenton). These have been reviewed extensively in RBS publications and will be mentioned only briefly here. The theory posits that an individual's judgments of morality move through an invariant sequence of stages progressing from hedonistic (oriented to reward and punishment) to conventional (rule oriented) to morally principled. According to this theory, exposing an individual to a stage of moral reasoning slightly above his current one induces conflict which, when resolved by a kind of mental reorganization, results in a progression to a higher stage of moral reasoning. Thus, the hedonistic basis

for moral judgment is supplemented by use of conventional supportive arguments which, in some individuals, is replaced by what Kohlberg calls morally principled reasoning.

Programs using this rationale introduce moral dilemmas in the classroom, where active discussion between small groups of students at different levels of moral reasoning is encouraged. Evaluation of some programs has indicated that participation in such discussions facilitates attainment of the next higher stage of moral reasoning in many students. Blatt and Kohlberg (1975) reported that students exposed to higher stage arguments exhibited shifts toward higher moral reasoning, although there was no concomitant change in behavior in a situation where it was possible to cheat without obvious detection. Another study found that students who participated in the Fenton moral-development program gained significantly more in moral maturity than did nonparticipants, and the former exhibited some improvement in inquiry skills, knowledge, and positive attitudes toward politics (Lieberman, Note 4).

There is some evidence that the effects of moral-education programs do not appear until several months after completion (Beck, Sullivan, & Taylor, 1972). It has been suggested that this long-term effect is due to the continued application of certain aspects of the program by teachers, such as the use of small-group discussions to resolve

interpersonal and moral conflicts (Selman & Lieberman, 1975).

Although these are promising approaches, it is probably too early to conclude that moral-education programs of this particular design should be implemented in all schools. First it is necessary to clarify the conditions which lead to advances in moral stages, to improve the instruments of measurement, and to accumulate some research on desirable teacher characteristics and skills and on associated aspects of school structure (Rest, 1974). Furthermore, some questions have been raised as to whether higher level responses to these verbal dilemmas result from learning which responses are expected or desirable or whether real changes in moral reasoning are actually occurring. Some research indicates, for example, that performance on moral dilemmas is related to the nature of the task: the type and content of moral dilemmas and the mode of presentation employed (verbal or visual) (Chandler, Greenspan, & Barenboim, 1973; Jensen, 1973).

A recent project (funded by the National Institute of Education and carried out by RBS) charged with developing a definition of ethical education placed a special stress on action and behavior (Blum, Note 5). A still more perplexing problem, therefore, is the modest relationship found between verbally stated values and actual behavior in many of these programs. One study (Turiel & Rothman, 1972) found that subjects at the principled levels of moral reasoning were less

likely to cheat than were those at the hedonistic or reciprocity stages. Other studies, however, have found little relationship. Bryan (1972) concluded that verbal presentations of altruistic standards were most likely to increase prosocial verbalizations, whereas actual exposure to altruistic models was more likely to increase prosocial behavior. Tasks which require verbalizations of moral judgment may improve the level of discussion of morality without necessarily affecting behavior. A study which investigated the relation between moral judgment and moral behavior reported that moral reasoning exerted an effect on the type of evaluation given to another person but not on the individual's own behavior (Rushton, 1975).

No process of social learning operates in isolation. The complexity of the interaction between the use of modeling and the cognitive-developmental approach for the growth of morality is indicated by a study in which it was found that seventh-graders who were originally at the two lowest stages of moral reasoning were influenced to move to higher levels by discussion of moral dilemmas with classmates, while those originally at higher levels were not influenced (Tracy & Cross, 1973). The authors suggested that for the students at the lower levels of moral development, social support for verbal statements may have been the important aspect promoting change.

The area of moral education, however, represents the most serious attempt to apply cognitive-developmental theory, with its emphasis on sequential stages and the role of conflict between existing reasoning and higher level reasoning in promoting development. Further, these programs have focused attention on peoples' judgments about justice and injustice, right and wrong. This is an important supplement to the tendency of some political scientists to focus on participation by citizens as the preeminent criterion of citizen functioning in a democracy. Although recent research suggests that the agenda of moral-development education and citizen education do not fully coincide, the theory and the techniques of the former are of great importance to the latter.

Moral Development and Perspective-Taking

Both Piaget and Kohlberg view cognitive perspective-taking as a prerequisite cognitive ability to moral judgments which are fully mature. In fact, Kohlberg asserts:

> Principles of justice...are themselves essentially principles of role-taking, that is, they essentially state, "Act so as to take account of everyone's perspective on the moral conflict situation." (Kohlberg, 1969, pp. 398-399)

Kurdek (1978) has recently reviewed evidence regarding correlations between perspective-taking abilities and moral judgments. He raises a number of methodological cautions and summarizes studies in a table which demonstrates that

most correlations between these abilities range from .00 to .30. He concludes as follows:

> The venture of searching for the cognitive component of various facets of children's moral development, in short, remains defensible, and perspective-taking ability is the front-running candidate for the position. (Kurdek, 1978, p. 23)

A parallel review and table of perspective-taking and moral behavior (which Kurdek defines as equivalent to altruistic behavior, generosity, and cooperative behavior) show correlations ranging from .00 to about .35. Both perspective-taking and moral development must be viewed as multidimensional in nature; an individual who is high on one aspect will not necessarily be high on another. Measurement techniques in both areas must also be improved before progress in research or education is likely, according to Kurdek.

Further, the present author would suggest that studies like that of Chandler (1973) be conducted over a wider age range and with nondelinquent children to study ways in which perspective-taking ability might be enhanced and what its subsequent effects on moral judgment and behavior might be. It may be that the ability to see someone else's perspective in a social situation constitutes a basic component of all the attitudinal and behavioral aspects of good citizenship as defined by RBS. But the relations between those various elements are not simple, and at present there is little more than a suggestion of directions for educational programs.

Moral Development and Concepts of Social Convention

Turiel, who performed several of the early pieces of laboratory research on Kohlberg's theory, has developed, in some very recent papers, the idea of separable domains of morality and orientations to social conventions. He points out that previous work has tended to confuse these two domains:

> Social conventions are behavioral uniformities which coordinate the actions of individuals participating in a social system....Examples of social conventional acts include uniformities in modes of dress, usage of forms of address and modes of greeting....Social conventional acts in themselves are arbitrary in that they do not have an intrinsically prescriptive basis. (Turiel, in press, p. 4)

Turiel believes that some of the research previously considered to be concerned with the development of morality is really concerned with social conventions--for example, studies of children's willingness to disobey rules regarding playing with "forbidden" toys and children's responses to concepts of rules in the game of marbles (a mainstay of Piaget's work on morality). Turiel prefers to reserve the term "moral" to apply to a much more limited set of issues: the value of life, physical and psychological harm to others, violation of rights, and deprivation of something to which the person is entitled. The consideration of moral action in areas such as these, according to Turiel, has its source not in arbitrary conventions related to a social institution but rather in considerations related to underlying concepts of

justice and consequences with regard to harming others and violations of rights.

One of the pieces of research which Turiel and his associates conducted was an observational study of the behavior of preschool children in 10 schools and interviews with the children about the observed events soon after they had taken place (Nucci & Turiel, 1978). It was possible to distinguish between children's responses to acts which violated social conventions (e.g., engaging in acts different from the group, such as sitting rather than standing while eating) and acts which were moral transgressions (one person intentionally hitting another). Eighty-three percent of the events were classified into the same category by adult observers and children who were interviewed. Adults were much more likely than children to initiate responses to transgressions of social convention, while adults and children were about equally likely to respond to moral transgressions. Furthermore, in interviews children responded that moral transgressions were wrong regardless of whether there was a rule prohibiting the behavior. In another study, more than 80% of children in all age groups, 6 through 17, said that it would be all right if everyone in another country decided to play a game by different rules. In contrast, in response to the question whether it would be all right to steal in a country in which there was no rule against it, the distribution was

nearly reversed, with no more than 30% at any age level answering yes.

The results of this research are especially interesting because stealing as an example of a moral rule is perhaps not the strongest example, as the aspect of harm may be somewhat ambiguous. Turiel continued to criticize Piaget and Kohlberg's moral-development theories as faulty because they consider that the acquisition of higher levels of morality is a process in which justice (morality) displaces conceptions of social conventions. In his view, convention is not a lower form of morality but a separate set of constructs which individuals use in dealing with their social environments.

Turiel reported the results of a cross-sectional study which attempted to delineate a series of stages describing individuals' responses to social conventions as a domain clearly separate from morality:

> Social convention forms a conceptual and developmental system....The individual's understanding of convention is related to his concepts of social organization. Development progresses toward a) viewing conventions as shared knowledge of uniformities in social interactions within social systems, and b) viewing such uniformities as functional to the coordination of social interactions. At all levels, however, conventions are conceived to be...arbitrary and related to the social system. (Turiel, in press, p. 21)

The mode by which individuals progress through these stages is conceived as a dialectic process in which one stage represents the affirmation of a principle and the next stage

represents its negation. As an adjunct to process, individuals use several methods for gathering information about the social environment. They symbolically take the perspective of another and engage in observation, communication, and imitation. Turiel sees perspective-taking ability, as well as several important processes of social learning theory, as contributors to the development of conceptions of social convention.

Institutions which relate to citizenship have elements of both the social/conventional and the moral. For the practitioner it is useful to distinguish between moral aspects of citizenship (obeying laws regarding murder and theft, for example) and aspects of citizenship which relate to social conventions. The former are seen by children as universal in character, transgressions being wrong whether or not specific proscriptive laws exist. Various aspects of human rights (discussed in the content typology) fit into this category of morality. In the domain of social convention Turiel notes that there is a necessary connection between the individual's conception of social order and these conventions. Many aspects of political institutions and processes would fit under this category. Turiel's work is a significant beginning in the delineation of important distinctions. When the framework for social cognition which he has articulated has been applied to more explicitly political matters, and when its

implications for education have been explored, the citizen education effort will benefit in important ways.

Educational Implications of Developmental Theories

There are several concepts used by Piaget, Kohlberg, Furth, and Turiel which have importance in the design of educational programs. They share a common stress upon stages and the continuous interaction of the organism and the environment, as well as delineating specific processes within circumscribed areas.

Within the last 10 years the findings of cognitive-developmental research, especially that based on the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg, have been extensively applied to educational programs with cognitive objectives. Although it is perhaps easier to translate Piaget's research findings into this area, there is no reason that these principles should not be utilized in social and citizenship education as well.

Brainerd (1978) has outlined and summarized the implications of Piaget's theory in three areas: curriculum sequencing, curriculum content, and teaching methods. Under sequencing he concludes:

> We should not try to teach children material that is clearly beyond their present stage of cognitive development....Teachers should avoid trying to accelerate their pupils' progress through the material on a given subject....Thorough mastery of a subject over the widest possible range of situations is a much better criterion of learning than sheer speed. ...We should try where possible to teach children

> new concepts in the same order that these concepts emerge during spontaneous cognitive development. (Brainerd, 1978, pp. 273-275)

The conclusions regarding curriculum content are somewhat more specific to learning about the physical world, but recommendations concerning teacher methods are equally applicable to physical and social knowledge:

> The teacher is asked to bear in mind...that children play in their own learning and to try to make learning experiences as active as possible. Second, the teacher is encouraged to make children aware of conflicts and inconsistencies in their beliefs. Third, it is argued that teachers should make use of the children's peers as teachers. (Brainerd, 1978, p. 280)

These general principles, as well as the more specific links suggested within each section, are important for the consideration of research and development in citizen education.

Social Learning Theory

A second major theory frequently used in examining social development is social learning theory, associated particularly with Albert Bandura. For many years, psychologists felt that it was appropriate to draw clear contrasts between Bandura's social learning theory and organismic-developmental theories such as those just discussed. There are clear differences between these positions, but publications such as Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) have made evident that Bandura takes account of cognitive factors within the individual as well as environmental factors (such

as reinforcement). This is still not a developmental theory, however; that is, it does not describe different specific structures in different age periods which change sequentially and universally; nor does it prescribe the kind of cumulative environmental-organismic interchange which is characteristic of theories like those of Piaget or Kohlberg. Stages are not part of social learning theory, although cognitive mediators and influences play an important role in this most recent exposition.

In a schematic diagram of the components governing observational learning, Bandura identifies four distinct and important processes. Under attentional processes, he characterizes the model provided for the child according to its distinctiveness and complexity. He also distinguishes the characteristics of the observer, and it is here that most of the important aspects of the preadult observer belong. To some of these, Bandura gives considerable attention; to others, such as sex and age, he gives less attention. This, however, is characteristic of social learning theory, which maintains that the processes of acquiring behavior through observational learning are the same for both children and adults.

A second major category of the component processes governing observational learning deals with retention processes. Whether an individual retains over time the behavior that

he/she has observed a model perform varies according to such factors as the symbolic coding of that behavior, the cognitive organization of the individual, and opportunities for symbolic and motoric rehearsal of that behavior. Notice here particularly the emphasis on cognitive and symbolic processes. This is a new stress which has arisen within quite recent formulations of this theory. It is no longer a matter of reinforcing behavior, with the only important characteristic of the observer being his/her reinforcement history.

A third component process governing observational learning is what Bandura calls motor reproduction processes. These are such things as physical capabilities and self-observation of attempts at reproducing the behavior seen. This category is probably somewhat less relevant for citizen behavior and attitudes.

The fourth category, motivational processes, is of special interest, however, because it is relatively new to the theory and because it gives a greater generality to it. Here a distinction is made between external reinforcement, vicarious reinforcement, and self-reinforcement.

Bandura's theory and these four kinds of component processes of observational learning (attentional processes, retention processes, motor reproduction processes, and motivational processes) are important factors to consider in the acquisition of citizen dispositions. This theory has been

applied in many studies of young people and, recently, has been used to explain changes in adult behavior and personality associated with marriage and parenthood (Hammer, 1973).

Altruistic, Prosocial, and Cooperative Behavior

Many experimental studies of altruistic and prosocial behavior have used the modeling approach, derived from social learning theory. The most common definition of prosocial behavior is "actions that are intended to aid or benefit another person or group of people without the actor's anticipation of external reward" (Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977, p. 3). As with all such definitions, however, there have been difficulties in operationalizing it because it is difficult in practice to make sure that the individual has no anticipation of possible reward (even when none is explicitly promised). Donation to charitable causes and helping persons in distress (rescuing) are the measures of prosocial or altruistic behavior used most frequently. Several elements of the RBS definition of citizenship are examples of prosocial behavior. These are especially important because they go beyond many past conceptions which were limited to behavior related directly to political institutions.

In a recent article Hoffman (1975) argues from psychological research and human evolution that there is an intrinsic altruistic motive which has both affective and cognitive components; he calls this motive sympathetic distress

and suggests that it is presumably the motivation for a variety of prosocial behavior.

Whether it is appropriate to conceptualize prosocial behavior as a unitary dimension is open to some question. Bryan (1975) and Rushton (1976) concluded that donating and rescuing behavior are only moderately correlated with each other when they are measured in laboratory situations. Some observational and self-report studies have found somewhat higher correlations (Baumrind, 1971). It is encouraging, however, that investigators in this area have taken a multimethod approach which should lead to further generalizability of these studies.

What is cited as a limitation of such studies from the point of view of research utility--that is, that children are asked to help or donate to strangers rather than friends--may be a strength of the studies when applied to citizen education. Citizenship behavior must relate the child psychologically to both strangers and acquaintances.

Rice and Grusec (1975) compared the effects of a model's verbalizations and actions upon behavior. It was found that both the verbalization of an intent to give to charity and the actual behavior of giving to charity influenced 7- to 11-year-old children's subsequent donations (when compared with a control group where no model was presented). These effects were maintained over periods up to 4 months. These

authors reported, from their findings in a later study, that subjects who were in conflict about appropriate behavior were more likely to be influenced by either verbalizations of intent or by the act itself; those not in conflict required exposure to the performing model in order for the influence to be substantial. Providing a model of the desired behavior is usually found to be more effective than preaching, although some studies have found that the effects of observing an altruistic model are enhanced if the child also receives some exhortation about the social norm of sharing or helping (Bryan & Walbek, 1970).

A study by Sprafkin, Liebert, and Poulos (1975) investigated the effects upon children of prosocial behavior displayed in television programs. Those who viewed a Lassie episode in which a prosocial act was an integral part of the plot helped more in a subsequent task than did subjects exposed to a Lassie program without such an episode or to a neutral film. Friedrich and Stein (1975) found that a prosocial television film (Mister Rogers) increased prosocial behavior only when combined with training involving role-playing in a puppet situation. Leifer, Gordon, and Graves (1974) concluded from a literature review that the longer the duration of exposure to prosocial behavior on TV, the more likely it was that the modeled behavior would occur. Furthermore, prosocial TV was found to have some influence

on self-control, nurturance, and cooperation (as well as upon the behaviors specifically modeled.

All reviews of this area (Bryan, 1975; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977; Rushton, 1976) conclude that older children are more likely to engage in altruistic behavior than are younger children. However, the subjects' age range in most of these studies has been limited to between 5 and 12. Very few studies have been done with adolescents, who may in fact be less likely than younger children to behave altruistically. One of the few studies that extended to adolescence was done by Cialdini, Darley, and Vincent (1973), who studied the effects of negative mood on altruistic behavior. They presumed that since altruistic and cooperative behavior acquires secondary reinforcement value with time, older children will be more likely to donate when they are feeling depressed because they expect that it will make them feel better. Findings with 6- to 18-year-olds were in the predicted direction, with younger children donating less when they felt depressed and older children donating more.

If children are made to feel that they have received an undeserved reward in a task, they are more likely to donate (according to a study by Long and Lerner, 1974). Masters (1971) also found that preschool children donated the most when they had been appropriately rewarded (and not underrewarded) in comparison with their peers. A recent study by

Miller and Smith (1977) investigated the evidence of "equity stress" in 9- and 10-year-olds. These students donated more when they felt they had been overpaid than when their reward seemed appropriate or too little. The deservingness of the victim to whom donations were made influenced donation only in the appropriate and underrewarded conditions. Thus it appears that even young children seem to have some sensitivity to equitable and inequitable distributions of resources.

The influence of modeling has been especially important to the study of helping and donating behavior. In research on cooperation a more direct approach to reinforcement, especially through operant conditioning, has been taken. Cooperation has been defined as a coordination of individual actions to obtain a common goal. Bryan (1975) noted that the most common type of study focuses upon the degree to which children integrate their individual responses to successfully pursue a goal; seldom does the investigator consider the situation where one child tries to cooperate but is thwarted by another. Second, in most research the child can only gain by cooperating; adopting a competitive strategy will result in losing rewards. An important early study was that of Azrin and Lindsley (1956), who found that pairs of children aged 7 through 12 were influenced by reinforcement to cooperate further. Several others have considered various parameters of the experimental situation related to

the influence of reinforcements on cooperation in dyads and triads of children (Mithaug, 1969; Mithaug & Burgess, 1968; Vogler, Masters, & Morrill, 1970, 1971). Bryan's review cited Madsen's work and concluded that "group administered rewards are more effective in increasing cooperativeness than individually administered rewards, even when such behavior may produce fewer reinforcements to the child" (Bryan, 1975, p. 5). However, Bryan continued:

> Unfortunately there have been few studies concerned with the mediators of reinforcement effects or the relative efficacy of reinforcement relative to other types of training, such as modeling influences. Hopefully the future will bring...greater concern with the social and cognitive processes which compete or interact with reinforcement in affecting cooperation. (Bryan, 1975, p. 5)

Two other interesting studies move in this direction. Kagan and Madsen (1971) found that by encouraging 7- to 9-year-olds to perceive themselves as members of a group (rather than as individuals), competitiveness was decreased. Altman (1971) demonstrated that somewhat younger children generalized cooperative responses learned in motor tasks through reinforcement to behavior in free-play periods, where they engaged in less hostile and more friendly interactions.

A study by Vance and Richmond (1975) demonstrated further the complexity of competitive and cooperative behavior. They expected that children with high self-esteem would engage in more cooperative behavior when paired together because they

would not feel it necessary to prove themselves better than someone else. In fact, nearly the opposite was true. Pairs of children with strong self-concepts moved into a competitive struggle almost immediately. In the pairing of children with high and low self-concept, those with low self-esteem adopted cooperative attitudes and allowed the children with high self-concept to win.

Although the majority of research has been conducted within the social learning framework, there have been some studies of altruistic behavior using the cognitive-developmental point of view. Kurdek (1978) has reviewed the evidence and found a somewhat inconsistent relationship between altruistic behavior and perspective-taking abilities. A recent study by Barrett and Yarrow (1977) suggested that a certain level of awareness of perspectives and the implications of others' behavior may be a necessary precondition for prosocial behavior. A study of children 5 through 8 at a summer camp found that among children who were high in their social inferential abilities, the more assertive children were more likely to help. Among those with lower levels of perspective-taking, there was no relation between assertiveness and prosocial behavior. Oden and Asher (1977) demonstrated with 9- and 10-year-olds that coaching socially solitary children in the skills related to perspective-taking (cooperation, communication) was successful both in the long

term and the short term in increasing sociometric status of isolated children. Staub (1971) trained kindergarten children in a role-playing task to understand and express the feelings of individuals in distress. The next day they were given the opportunity to come to the aid of someone in distress. Girls who had been trained in role-playing responded more frequently than did girls in a control group, and the effects endured over a 1-week period. Results were somewhat more mixed for boys.

The amount of research in this area, culminating in several useful reviews, is gratifying; it is also puzzling because of the lack of uniformity of findings. Authors have accounted for this divergence in terms of differences in measures used, ages of children employed, use of natural or laboratory setting, demand characteristics of the experiments (anticipation of external reward even when none has been offered), and so on.

Rushton (1976) makes an interesting distinction which is at a slightly higher level of summary and which may have special importance for those interested in citizen education. He believes that altruistic behavior should be understood not only in the light of individual differences and divergencies of method; the motivational dimension should also receive special attention. He distinguishes among the following different possible motivations for altruistic behavior. First,

there is empathy, which is closely related to emotional or affective perspective-taking; the child may experience the feelings of someone else vicariously and behave in an altruistic manner for that reason. A second possibility is a normative motivation for altruism; in most societies there is a positive norm for behaving altruistically, and this may motivate such behavior. In the third case, the reciprocity motivation for altruism, the child may share something with another in the hope that the other will share with him/her at some later time. The fourth motive is fairness or justice, the motivating force of "equity distress."

There are at least three components of altruistic behavior which need to be considered by the education specialist: (a) motivation, (b) the ability to take the perspective of the individual who is to benefit from the behavior, and (c) constraints and encouragements in the situation. Altruistic or prosocial behavior is closely related to a number of the important concepts of the citizenship education definition proposed by RBS, and further work on the role of modeling in enhancing these behaviors is especially needed. There have been only a few such studies in the school setting. Hawley (Note 5) observed teachers' classroom practices and interaction and also collected students' reports of their perceptions of their classroom. Positive relations existed between the teachers' expression of interest in the ideas of

students and students' interest in the ideas of their classmates, even when other factors were held constant. The importance of the climate of the classroom and the role of the teacher as a model of behavior is highlighted by this report. The author concluded that teachers could and should improve their level of "responsive flexibility" to serve as better models.

Conclusions

The purpose of a paper such as this differs somewhat from the purpose of a review directed to an audience of psychological researchers. The concepts identified here for further exploration should meet several criteria. First, they should include and provide a framework for organizing the content of material linked to the RBS definition (which in itself reflects a diversity of ideas from political scientists, social studies educators, and government policy makers). Second, such a review should not overlook topics of current public concern--ethics in government, global interdependence, international human rights. Although an exclusive focus on current events would not be satisfying, it is important to provide some background to citizens in areas of current policy concern, especially when there is evidence that the present awareness of these areas is limited. This paper attempts to meet these two criteria.

The choice of psychological topics should be guided by criteria parallel to those cited for content. In other words, the topics should have at least a face-valid linkage to elements of the RBS definition, and, wherever possible, they should also be closely tied to current programs of psychological research on social development. Recent studies by Turiel and Furth on the relationship between cognitive and social, between moral and social conventional, represent such programs, as does the recent formulation of social learning theory by Bandura. Such links can be mutually facilitative.

A further criterion is that research programs should be designed which include studies in both the natural and the laboratory setting. Some studies in the naturalistic setting may be descriptive; others, however, need to focus on the application of laboratory results. The importance of constant movement back and forth from natural setting to laboratory is highlighted by differences in the aims of work in the two settings. Some laboratory studies of the role of modeling in increasing altruistic behavior have been criticized for failing to fully eliminate the possibility that the child expects some external reward even though none is promised. Behavior performed with an expectation of external reward does not meet the definition of prosocial behavior. This may spoil the attempt to measure the pure effects of modeling in an experimental situation. However, in the natural

setting (such as a classroom), where direct reinforcement and modeling can be combined, the potential for behavioral change may be greatly enhanced.

Links between psychological research and teacher training, as well as evaluation of outcomes, should constantly be sought. In addition, the implications of research for sectors of society other than education should be considered.

Finally, the developmental approach should be taken seriously in all programs in this area. With regard to children and adolescents, that means specifying the parameters of cognitive development and their relation to social development. Similar principles also apply when dealing with adults, given the importance of a life-span approach.

This review has identified several topics or themes from recent research in social development: perspective-taking and related aspects of cognition; modeling and related aspects of social learning theory; motivational distinctions of importance in understanding prosocial behavior; and moral judgments contrasted with conceptions of social convention. It may be important at some future time to delineate an overarching conceptual framework to account for interrelations among these concepts. At present it is probably more important to encourage research which will describe and offer alternative explanations of social and citizenship behavior. Especially needed are studies of the effects of training in

controlled settings which can be generalized and used in programs for educational personnel at all levels and in all sectors. What kind of experience do teachers need to improve their potential to serve as models for prosocial behavior?...to enhance motivation for prosocial and citizenship behavior?...to diagnose children's levels of cognitive and social competence in order to aid in the sequencing and use of materials? Finally, how can the operational measures of these concepts be used in evaluation studies which include attitudinal and motivational as well as cognitive outcomes?

When I was in kindergarten, some 35 years ago, the teacher frequently exhorted us to be "good citizens"--meaning to obey her and engage in prosocial behavior of various kinds. When I took a formal course in civics, nearly 30 years ago, we memorized paragraphs about government structure from small books with worn paper covers. I would guess that many of the psychologists and educators doing the research cited in this paper had similar experiences. It should not surprise us, therefore, that citizen education has something of a bad name and that adjectives such as boring, nationally chauvinistic, and overly vague are associated with it by many. The purpose of this paper is to suggest specific concepts which can link citizen education with some of the most exciting psychological research

currently in progress. If that can be done, it will be to the benefit of citizen education specialists and psychologists alike.

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